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HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

Of the EVER-MEMORABLE

MR. JOHN HALES, K.

Fellow of Eton College, and Canon of Windsor,

BEING

A SPECIMEN

OF AN

HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

ENGLISH

DICTIONARY.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. ROBINSON, at the Golden-Lion
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T O
The RIGHT HONOURABLE
THOMAS
Lord PARKER,
Baron of MACCLESFIELD,
Lord High Chancellor
OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

MY LORD,

 **NE of the strongest motives**
that incite Men to do good
Actions, is doubtless the desire
they have to acquire the ap-
probation and esteem of their
Contemporaries; and to be commemo-
A 2 rated

The Dedication.

rated with applause after their departure out of this World. But this desire must be naturally much stronger in those persons, who distinguish themselves by extraordinary talents; whether it be in the profession of Letters, or in the chief posts of the Government. To perpetuate therefore the memory of Great men, is to reward and pay a kind of homage to their Merit; and it is likewise an important service done to the Publick, since thus other persons will become emulous of taking them for Patterns, and imitate them with so much the more ardor and satisfaction, as they see Justice done to them after their Death.

This consideration, MY LORD, inspir'd me with the desire of undertaking a Work, which will contain the most important particulars of the Lives of such persons, as have made themselves famous, by their Writings or other Actions, in Great-Britain and Ireland. But as in handling this subject, I shall be often oblig'd to enter into the examination of certain facts, and into critical discussions, which may be apt to weary those who are not accustomed

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custom'd to enquiries of this nature, or to embarrass those who would, at one view and without interruption, see whatever can be said with any certainty, relating to the Life of a Person; in such cases, I shall so order matters, as to give this least essential part of my Work (if I may speak so) separately by way of REMARKS, which will serve for Illustrations, Additions, or Proofs to the other part, that will stand for the TEXT, and to which the Remarks will all refer: so that the Text, will contain the Historical part of an Article; as the Remarks will be the Critical part, or the Commentary.

You perceive already, MY LORD, by what I have been saying, that I imitate the celebrated Mr. Bayle, who with great success made use of this method in his DICTIONARY. I could heartily wish that I had likewise the secret of borrowing from him the Art of making pleasant the most difficult and barren Subjects, and of diversifying the Materials, as agreeably as he did. But as it is Nature alone that bestows those talents, and all our wishes can never obtain them; I have endeavour'd to imitate
some

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some of his other qualities, particularly his **Exactness** and **Impartiality**, which have been carry'd by him as far, perhaps, as it is possible to be done by Man; that is to say, by a Being subject to numberless **Errours** and **Prejudices**.

But there are certain things wherein Mr. Bayle hath been blam'd, and which I have resolv'd very carefully to avoid. He hath been accus'd of having let slip into his Dictionary several facts, and even some reflexions which offend Modesty; and, what is still more important, of having started some Difficulties, and rais'd certain Objections, which are deem'd to strike at the fundamental Doctrines of Religion. He hath indeed endeavour'd to justify himself against these accusations: and the publick is left to judge of the weight of his Apologies. As for my own part, I have, rather chosen to avoid doing any thing like this, than to be obliged to justify my self after I had done it.

However, as the reproaches he hath met with on this account are no less known

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known than his Dictionary, I was apprehensive, lest such as might see the Specimen of my Work, made in imitation of his, should imagine, at first sight, that I would also imitate him in that part, which hath been so liable to exception: and, I must confess, I was a long while perplex'd how I might avoid so disadvantageous a Prejudice, and, at the same time, give a just notion of my Design.

At last, MY LORD, it luckily came into my thoughts, that the prefixing of your Name to this Essay, would be the most ready and effectual way of compassing my design: for whatever liberty may be taken by Writers in their Dedications, yet it cannot be easily imagined, that any man would presume to dedicate to your Lordship, the Specimen of a Work, that might be suspected to contain any thing against Religion or Morality.

I dare even flatter my self, MY LORD, that other Consequences will be drawn from it, and not a little in my favour; particularly, that, throughout this whole
Work

Work, there will be found sentiments of the most firm Attachment to the Laws of this Kingdom, as well with regard to the Church as to the State. Your Name alone will excite all these Ideas.

No one, MY LORD, can be ignorant of the Zeal and Steadiness with which you have defended, in the most difficult times, the Rights of the Protestant Succession, which is the basis and foundation of the Liberties of the Kingdom, and of the Religion which we profess. Nor is there any one, who better understands these Laws or this Religion, than Your Lordship. The Knowledge of the Laws is commonly look'd upon, as sufficient to employ the whole capacity of human Understanding: and the small number of such as have joyn'd to it the study of the *Belles Lettres* and the politer Arts, have been the admiration of the Publick. But You have not confin'd Your self to this, MY LORD: You were further resolv'd not only to penetrate into the secrets of the most sublime and abstruse Sciences, but also to know Religion in its Source, to become Master of the Languages that

lead

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lead to this Knowledge, and to consult the best Interpreters, whether ancient or modern, of the sacred Books. In a word, you fill the most honourable Post in the State; capable, at the same time, to fill the principal Dignity in the Church.

I give here, MY LORD, for a SPECIMEN of my Work, the Article of the celebrated Mr. HALES, Fellow of Eton College, and Canon of Windsor: and I have been determin'd to make this choice, rather because I have always had a particular esteem and veneration for this excellent person, than because I thought an Account of him would in a peculiar manner engage the Readers. I have made references to other Articles which are already drawn up; but which I have deferr'd to print, till I had try'd, in this instance, what reception and encouragement I might expect from the Publick.

As the Work, whereof I here give the Plan, is of a vast extent, I could wish, MY LORD, that other persons would joyn with me in it; or rather, that, being much more capable of the Undertaking,

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king, they would entirely charge themselves with the execution of it. I would most willingly resign this Province to them; contenting my self with having been able to excite them by my example.

It is true, that such a Work ought not to be negligently or hastily accomplished: it requires abundance of care, abundance of examination: qualities which ought to be the effect of leisure, of a state of life that is free and easy. But whenever the Usefulness, or if I may speak the whole truth, whenever the Necessity of this Work comes to be known; there is ground to believe that all requisite encouragement will be given to those, who shall apply themselves to it.

We never, MY LORD, had more reason to hope that we shall see Learning encourag'd in this Kingdom, than at present, when we have the happiness to be govern'd by a Prince, who therefore loves Letters, because he understands them; who hath always given them his protection; and who hath, as it were, rendred them

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hereditary in his August Family: a Prince, who makes his Glory to consist in giving to his People plenty and peace, so essential to the advancement of Letters; and who hath the advantage of having near his person Ministers, whose Learning may justly stir the envy of those, who have intirely addicted themselves to Study, and past their whole Lives in their Closets. Such Ministers are themselves too much indebted to Learning, to be presumed not to give it some degree of countenance. But I dare take upon me to affirm (what I am encouraged to do, both from my own experience and the publick voice) that Men of Letters have a peculiar right to hope for Your Lordship's Patronage and Favour. For is it to be thought possible, that, in the publick Station which you so gloriously discharge, you can refuse them that Protection, which in a private Capacity, you have ever generously vouchsafed?

As for my self, MY LORD, if I find that this first Attempt is not displeasing to Your Lordship, and that you do not disapprove the liberty I have taken

ken to put it under the shelter of Your great Name; I shall think my self not a little happy, and shall remain during my whole Life, with the profoundest respect and the heartiest acknowledgment,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

February,
23, 171 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Most obliged and
most humble Servant.

H A L E S

HALES (*John*) one of the most judicious and most learned Divines of the Church of England, and in such esteem that his name is seldom mention'd without the Epithet of *ever-memorable*. “ (a) He was a younger son of *Joh. Hales* (Steward to the Family of the *Horners* in *Somersetshire*) eldest son of *Edw. Hales* of *Highchurch* in the said County, son of *Jo. Hales* of the same place, son of *Rich. Hales*, by his Wife the Daughter of *Beauchamp*. ” Mr. *Hales* was born in the year 1584, in the City of *Bathe* and educated in Grammar learning there. At 13 years of age, he was sent to the University of *Oxford* in the beginning of the year 1597, and was for some time a Scholar of *Corpus Christi Colledge* (b). Sir *Henry Savile*, Warden of *Merton Colledge*, being inform'd of the prodigious pregnancy of his parts, resolv'd to bring him into the said Colledge; as he was us'd to do in respect to all young men, who distinguish'd themselves in the University by their merit: a thing that can never be too much commended or imitated. Thereupon Mr. *Hales* was encouraged to stand for a Fellowship of that Colledge; and an (c) Election being appointed and made in the year 1605, and all Candidates sifted and examined to the utmost, he was the first that was chosen. “ (d) In which Election as he shew'd himself a person of learning above his Age and Standing; so thro' the whole Course of his Bachellourship there was never any

B “ one

(a) Mr. Anthony Wood
Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. II. col. 1234

(b) Wood
ibid.

(c) *ibid.*

(d) *ibid.* c. 123, 124

" one in the then Memory of man that
 " ever went beyond him for subtile Di-
 " sputations in Philosophy, for his eloquent
 " Declamations and Orations; as also for
 " his exact knowledge of the Greek Tongue,
 " evidently demonstrated afterwards, not
 " only when he read the Greek Lecture in
 " that Colledge, but also the publick Le-
 " cture of that Tongue in the Schools. His
 " profound learning and natural indow-
 " ments (not that I shall take notice of his
 " affability, sweetness of nature and com-
 " plaisance, which seldom accompany hard
 " Students and Criticks) made him belov'd
 " of all good men, particularly of Savile
 " before mention'd, who found him, tho'
 " young, serviceable in his edition of St.
 " Chrysostom's Works. "

In the Year 1612, he was made Greek Professor (e).

(e) Wood
 Historia &
 Antiquitates
 Universitatis
 Oxoniensis,
 Lib. II. p. 39.

Sir Thomas Bodley the glorious founder
 of the *Bodleian Library*, dying in the Year
 1613, Mr. Hales was chosen by the Uni-
 versity to make his *Funeral Oration* (A).

Five

(A) Mr. Hales was chosen to make Sir Thomas Bodley's
Funeral Oration]. That Oration was printed the same
 Year at Oxford, with this Title: *Oratio funebris habita*
in Collegio Mertonensi, à Johanne Halesio; M^{ro}. in Ar-
tibus, & ejusdem Collegij Socio, Anno 1613. Martij 29.
quo die Clarissimo Equiti D. Thomæ Bodleio funus du-
cebatur. Oxonij, 1613. in 4^o. The same hath been re-
 printed in the *Vitæ selectorum aliquot Virorum qui Do-*
ctrina, Dignitate, aut Pietate inclaruere, published by
 Dr. William Bates (1) London 1681, in 4^o.

Five Years after, he went into Holland, Chaplain to Sir Dudley Carlton, King James's Embassador to the United-Provinces, at the time of the Synod of Dort, in the Years 1618, and 1619. And as Sir Dudley was oblig'd to give the King an Account of the Proceedings of the Synod, he sent Mr. Hales to Dort, to the end that he should inform him of what pass'd in that Assembly. Mr. Hales was for that purpose recommended by the Embassador to Bogerman, the President of the Synod, and to some others of the leading Men there, by which means he got acquainted with their most secret deliberations; and having besides the Advantage of being present at the Sessions or Meetings of that Synod, he was witness to their publick Transactions, whereof he gave afterwards an account to the Embassador. The Letters he writ to him on that occasion have been printed (f).

(f) See the Remark where I give a Catalogue of Mr. Hales's Writings.

"In his younger years he was a Calvinist, and even then when he was employed in that Synod; but at the well pressing St. John iii. 16. by Episcopius, "there he bid John Calvin good-night, as he often told" one of his Friends (g).

(g) Mr. Anthony Farin-
don. See his
Letter to Mr.
Garthwait,
prefix'd be-
fore Mr.
Hale's *Golden
Remains*.
(h) Wood,
Ath. Oxon.
Vol. II. col.
124.

After his return into *England* he was made Fellow of Eton Colledge, partly by the recommendation of Sir Dudley Carlton, to whom he had been so serviceable; partly by the help of Sir Henry Savile (h) Provost of that College, who thereby secur'd to himself the advantage of having his Com-

pany at Eton as well as at the University.

Mr. Hales had not only a great penetration and a clear and solid judgment, but lov'd Truth with an upright and sincere Heart. These qualities made him easily distinguish what is essential to Religion, from what is but accidental or even quite foreign to it. And as he was the best natur'd Man and the most compassionate, it griev'd him to see how Christians were divided among themselves, and how most of them did hate and persecute one another for bare Speculations: and he us'd to express himself thereupon with the freedom common to all those who seek after nothing but the Truth, and with a frankness that was peculiar to him. But the Desire he shew'd to have Religion freed from what Men have thrust in of their own, and reduced to its primitive purity and simplicity, drew upon him the imputation of being a Socinian. They attributed to him some Books, which were in effect written by Socinians (B).

(B) *They attributed to Mr. Hales some Books which were in effect written by Socinians, &c.*] Mr. Wood ranks among the things that Mr. Hales hath written the Book intitled, *Brevis Disquisitio, an & quomodo vulgo dicti Evangelici Pontificios, ac nominatim Val. Magni de Acatholicorum credendi regula Judicium, solide atque evidentiter refutare queant.* Eleutheropoli, apud Godfridum Philalethium Anno MDCXXXIII. very small twelves (1) pagg. 72. "This book, says Mr. Wood, (2) contains, as the Puritan then said, *Sundry*, both *Socinian and Pelagian Points*, as also that the body

(1) Mr. Wood in stakes when he says (*ubi sup.* col. 126) that it is in 16.
(2) *ibid.*

as I shall prove in one of the Remarks;
and thereby clear Mr. Hales from being
(as

"which shall be raised in the Resurrection is not idem
"numero: And that Souls do not live till the Resur-
"rection, besides other points, &c. 'Tis true that cer-
"tain of the principal Tenents were cunningly in-
"serted therein, pretending them for the best Ex-
"pedients to appease some Controversies between the
"Ch. of England and Rome". These last Words
of Mr. Wood are but a Conjecture of his own
grounded upon the supposition that Mr. Hales was the
Author of that Book, and shew that he spoke of it from
Common report; for had he seen the Book it self, he
had found that the Church of England is not so much
as named in it: there is only mention made of the
Lutherans and the *Calvinists*. The design of that Book is
to shew the insufficiency of the Principles of those Pro-
testants to confute the *Papists*: and that the only Me-
thod to succeed in it, is to throw off all human Au-
thority, and stick to the Scripture only, as explain'd
and understood by right Reason; and without having
any regard to Tradition or the Authority of Coun-
cils, Fathers, &c. He pretends likewise, that the Opi-
nion of the Protestants that the Soul lives after the
Man's death, favours the Doctrine of Purgatory;
that the Consubstantiation of the *Lutherans*, and the
real (tho' spiritual) manducation of Christ's Body of
the *Calvinists*, is not much more reasonable and true
than Transubstantiation; and that the Doctrine of
some Protestants touching Original Sin and Predestina-
tion tends to destroy true Piety, and to establish the
Necessity of Confession, Absolution, &c.

No wonder this Book should contain, as the Puritans
said according to Mr. Wood, *sundry Socinian Points*,
since the Author of it was in fact a Socinian. Mr.
Wood, who had such immense Knowledge of our
English Literature, may be excus'd for not being so
much acquainted with the state of Learning abroad.
If he had read Sandius's *Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum*,
published in Holland in 1684, he had found therein
that Joachimus Stegmannus, a celebrated Socinian Mi-
nister,

(as it is generally believ'd) the Author of them.

Mr. Hales's

(3) Christo-
phori Chr.
Sandij Bibli-
otheca Anti-
trinitario-
rum, p. 132,
333.

(4) Small 8^o
pp. 48.

(5) The edi-
tor seems to
intimate here
that he knew
the Author
of the *Brevis
Disquisitio*
was not an
Englishman.

nister, is the Author of the *Brevis disquisitio*, &c. (3). But it may perhaps more justly be wonder'd at, that Mr. Wood knew not that this Book of Stregmannus had been translated into English, and published in the Year 1653 with this Title: *Brevis disquisitio: Or, a brief Inquiry touching a better way than is commonly made use of, to refute Papists, and reduce Protestants to Certainty and Unity in Religion*. London, printed for Richard Moone at the Seven Stars in Paul's Churchyard near the great North-door 1653, in 8^o (4). To this Translation is prefix'd an Advertisement to the Christian Reader, in which the Editor says that the Principles of that small Piece are the most proper and most solid for confuting Papists. For proof whereof, adds he, *I might alledge a certain Countryman of our own* (5), *who arming himself with these Principles, did, in a Conflict of his with a most acute Adversary, give Popery a mortal Wound, the Cure whereof hath since been earnestly attempted, but in vain*. There is no doubt but the Editor means Mr. Chillingworth. He answers afterwards those who might be displeas'd at the publication of this little Treatise, because *Reason is therein much cried up*, by shewing that Scripture itself refers us to Reason as our Guide in Matters of Faith; and he says that what makes several Protestant Ministers declaim so much against Reason, is because they themselves hold many absurd, ridiculous and unreasonable Opinions, and so know right well, that if Men once begin to make use of their Reason, and bring the Doctrines they are commonly taught to the Touchstone of the Scripture explain'd and manag'd in a rational way, their Tenets and Reputation with the People will soon be laid in Dust.

Mr. Wood reckons also among Mr. Hales's Works the little Book intitul'd, "*Dissertatio de Pace & Concordia Ecclesiae Eleutheropoli* 1628. in tw. This Book, adds he, which is much celebrated by famous Authors, is printed in the same Character and at the same supposed place, as his *Brevis Disquisitio*, and therefore by the generality is taken to be written by our Author

" (6) "

" (6) "
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Mr. Hales's Principles about ecclesiastical Peace

"(6)". But if Mr. Wood had look'd into Sandius's (6) Wood
Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum, he had found that Samuel ^{ib. c. 125.}
 Przypcovius, a Polish Knight, and a great Unitarian,
 is the true Author of it. Sandius names it first in the
 Catalogue of Przypcovius's Works, and gives this Ac-
 count of it:

*Anonymi Dissertatio de pace & concordia ecclesiae: edita per
 Irenaeum Philalethen, cum praefixa ejusdem praefatione ad le-
 ctorem (ex qua editorem hunc Arianis fere homodoxum fuisse
 liquet). Subjectum est in calce libelli aliud ejusdem ad
 lectorem alloquium. Eleutheropoli typis Godfridi Philadelphi
 a. 1628. 12°. Opusculi hujus, multi Simonem Episcopium
 S. Theologiae apud Remonstrantes in Hollandia Professore,
 auctorem esse rebantur.*

*Item a. 1630, 12° editio secunda, ad ipsius Auctoris MS.
 recognita, multisque locis aucta. ibidem apud eundem typis
 mandata (7).*

We see thereby, that at the same time that this Book
 was beyond Sea attributed to Episcopius, it was thought
 in England that Mr. Hales was the Author of it. But
 no body can doubt but it is Przypcovius's own Work,
 from the Testimony of Sandius: and as such it hath
 been publish'd with his other Works, in the edition of
 them printed in the Year 1692, *in folio*. This little
 Piece hath been translated into English (which was
 unknown to Mr. Wood, since he takes no notice of it)
 and published with this Title: "*Dissertatio de Pace, &c.*
 "or a Discourse touching the Peace and Concord of
 "the Church. Wherein is elegantly and acutely ar-
 "gued, That not so much a bad Opinion, as a bad
 "Life, excludes a Christian out of the Kingdom of
 "Heaven; and that the things necessary to be Known
 "for the attainment of Salvation, are very few and
 "easie: and finally, that those, who pass amongst us
 "under the name of Hereticks, are notwithstanding
 "to be tolerated. London, printed by Ja. Cottrel,
 "for Rich. Moone, at the Seven Stars in Paul's Church-
 "yard. 1653," in 8° (8). The Latin editor, who,
 as Sandius very well observ'd, seems to be an Arian,
 says the design of that Book is to abate the Hatred of
 certain Zealots against the Socinians upon the account
 of

(7) Bibl.
 Anti-trin.
 ubi sup. 123a

(8) Small 8°. pp. 64. be-
 sides the Pre-
 face.

Peace and Concord appear'd chiefly by a
Tract

of their Tenets concerning the Person and Office of Christ, tho' the Author did not approve Socinus's Opinion, and had even confuted it some time with a great deal of reason; and that it was with the same view he did publish it, and not to seduce any body into Socinus's Principles (9).

(9) The Translator hath abridg'd the Author's Preface, and given only a small part of it.

(10) London 1708, in 8^o. Phenix xxii, xxiii.

The English Translation of this and the preceding Tract, hath been reprinted in the second Volume of the *Phenix: or Revival of scarce and valuable Pieces* (10): with these Words added to the Title of them: *Supposed to be written by Mr. John Hales of Eton.*

For the rest, it is not unlikely but what gave Occasion to attribute these Books to Mr. Hales was, that the general Principles they are grounded upon, viz. having no Rule of Faith but the Scripture, explain'd according to sound Reason, and allowing all Christian Communions an equal Right to interpret the Scripture to the best of their Judgment, and to order their Government or Discipline accordingly: that these general Principles, I say, were agreeable to Mr. Hales's Notions; as they are, it must be acknowledg'd, Principles common to all Protestants, but explain'd and insisted upon with more freedom and in a particular manner by our Author. But there was not the least ground to infer from thence that he was a Socinian: and a famous Roman-Catholick Author hath with a great deal of justice and candor, vindicated Mr. Chillingworth from that imputation on the same account. After having asserted that Mr. Chillingworth being disheartened by Daille's Book *de Usu Patrum* (11) from appealing to the Holy Fathers of the Church . . . gladly made use of the grounds which he found first in a Socinian's Book, who instead of private Divine Spirit, substituted common Reason, as the only proper judge of the sense of Scripture; and that upon these grounds precisely he has proceeded through his whole Book, intitled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*; he adds, "But, Sir, is this sufficient to make poor Mr. Chillingworth pass for a Socinian? Does the making private Reason Judge of the true sense of Scripture, infer, that neither

(11) See Mr. Cressy's *Fanaticism* factually imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr. Stillingfleet. &c. in 8^o. 1672, pag. 165 & seq. Lord Clarendon's *Ani-madversions upon a Book intitl'd, Fanaticism* factually imputed, &c. in 8^o. Lond. 1673, p. 183. & seq. and Mr. Cressy's *Epist. Apologetical to a Person of Honour*, &c. 1674, p. 22.

Christ;

Tract he writ at the request and for the use of one of his Friends (C), who had desired to know what he thought *concerning Schism and Schismaticks*. In that *Tract* he *briefly*
C *discovered*

"*Christ*, nor the *Holy Ghost* are *God*? that the pains of "*Hell* are not eternal? that separate Souls have no being, or at least no perception? &c. *God* forbid: for "then how many innocent persons would be guilty of "*Blasphemies* unawares to themselves? Then not only "*Mr. Chillingworth*, but *Dr. Stillingfleet*, and besides "*them*, *God* knows how many more in *London*, and in "*the Universities* of *England*, would be *Socinians* (12)".

(12) *Cressy's*
Epist. Apolog.
ibid.

But we have an undeniable Proof of *Mr. Hales's* not having been a *Socinian*, viz. his *Confession of the Trinity*, printed at the beginning of his *Miscellanies* in his *Golden Remains* (13). It contains the Sum of whatsoever either the Scriptures teach, or the Scholes conclude concerning the Doctrine of the TRINITY: and *Mr. Hales* says at the close of it, that he who acknowledgeth thus much, can never possibly scruple the Eternal Deity of the Son of *God* (14): and adds these Words: "If any man think this Confession to be Defective (for I can conceive no more "in this point necessary to be known) let him supply "what he conceives be deficient, and I shall thank "him for his favour" (15).

(13) *Pag.*
257, edit.
1673.

(14) *ibid.*
p. 258.

(15) *ibid.*

(C) *A Tract* he writ at the request of one of his Friends] *Mr. Wood* says it was writ at the desire of *Mr. Chillingworth*, when he was composing his Book against the Jesuit *Edward Knott*, entitled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation, an Answer to a Book entitled, Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintain'd by Catholics, which pretends to prove the contrary*. "It must be known, says he (in the Article of *Mr. Chillingworth*) "that our Author being of intimate acquaintance "with *Job. Hales* of *Eaton*, he did use his assistance "when he was in compiling his Book of *The Religion*, &c. especially in that part, wherein he vindicates the English Church from Schism, charg'd on her by *Knott*. And that he might more clearly
"under-

discovered the Original Cause of all Schism; and added something concerning Conventicles (D). This Tract being handed about

(k) *Thos. Long*
in his pref.
before Mr.
Hales his treatise of schisme
examined.

Lond. 1678.

(1) Wood,
Athenæ Oxon.
Vol. II. col.
22.

(2) See the
Article
WOOD
(Anthony)

(3) Wood,
Athenæ Oxon.
ib. c. 126.

“ understand *Hales*, he desir’d him that he would communicate his thoughts in writing, concerning the nature of Schism. Whereupon he wrot a Tract thereof (as I shall tell you when I come to him) out of which our Author *Chillingworth* urged some Arguments, which as one (k) thinks, *are the worst in all his Book*; and so it is thought by many more. However, if not, as some affirm, yet they have caus’d ill reflections not only on the private reputation of *Hales* and *Chillingworth*, but on the Church of *England*, as if it did favour the Socinian Principles” (1). Mr. Wood asserts here, that Mr. *Hales* writ his Tract concerning Schism, at Mr. *Chillingworth*’s desire; but in The Article of Mr. *Hales*, to which he refers his Reader, he is not so positive; and attributes the Writing of that Tract to some other Views, which are equally inconsistent with one another, and with Mr. *Hales*’s Temper and Inclination. But this is not the only place, where Mr. Wood rakes together, and relates with great Complacency, the most invidious things, that can be suggested against the honour and reputation of some of the greatest Men of the Church of *England* (2). In the Article before mention’d, after having set down the Title of Mr. *Hales*’s Tract concerning Schism; he gives the following account of it. “ All or most of this Pamphlet, says he, was taken, as ’tis said, from *Socinus*, and written about the Year 1636, partly, as some think, out of discontent, that he had no preferment confer’d on him, partly, as others say, for the encouragement of some great Masters of Wit and Reason to dispute the Authority of the Church, and partly at the request of his friend W. *Chillingworth*, who desir’d some such matter of, to be used by, him, in the composition of his book intit. *The Religion of Protestants, &c.* (3)”

(D) *In that Tract he discover’d the Cause of all Schism, &c.*] I shall give an abstract of it, that the Reader may

about in Manuscript, a Copy of it fell into the hands of Dr. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury : and that Prelate happen'd

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to

may judge whether it deserves the Censure some People have pass'd upon it (1). Mr. Hales begins it with this Observation, That **HERESY** and **SCHISM**, as they are in common use, are two Theological *Moquês*, or Scarecrows, which they, who uphold a Party in Religion, use to fright away such, as making Inquiry into it, are ready to relinquish and oppose it, if it appear either erroneous or suspicious (2) : But that howsoever in the common manage, Heresy and Schism are but ridiculous Terms, yet the things in themselves are of very considerable moment ; the one offending against Truth, the other against Charity ; and therefore both deadly where they are not by Imputation, but in deed (3).

Mr. Hales defines **SCHISM** an unnecessary separation of Christians from that part of the visible Church, of which they were once Members (4). Two things, says he, serve to make a Schism compleat : 1. the Choice of a Bishop, in opposition to the former. 2. the erecting of a new Church and Oratory, for the dividing Party to meet in publicly (5). Now where the Cause of Schism, pursues he, is necessary, there not he that separates, but he that occasions the Separation, is the Schismatick ; but where the occasion of Separation is unnecessary, neither side can be excus'd from the Guilt of Schism (6). But you will ask, says Mr. Hales to his Friend, Who shall be the Judge what is **NECESSARY** ? Indeed, adds he, that is a Question which hath been often made, but I think scarcely ever truly answer'd : not because it is a Point of great Depth or Difficulty truly to assail it, but because the true Solution carries Fire in the Tail of it : for it bringeth with it a piece of Doctrine which is seldom pleasing to Superiours. To you for the present, continues he, this shall suffice : If so be you be *animo defæcato*, if you have clear'd yourself from Froth and Grounds : if neither Sloath, nor Fear, nor Ambition, nor any tempting Spirits of that nature abuse you (for these, and such as these, are the true Impediments, why both that and other Questions of the like danger are not truly answered) if all this be, and yet you see not how to frame your Resolution

(1) See Remark (G) (H), &c.

(2) A Tract concerning Schism, &c. p. 163. edit. 1716.

(3) *ibid.* p. 164.

(4) *ibid.* p. 166.

(5) p. 167.

(6) p. 170.

to be displeased at some things contain'd in it. Which Mr. Hales having notice of,

solution, and settle yourself for that Doubt; I will say no more of you than was said of Papias, St. John's own Scholar, you are ἀνὴς μὴ ἐὶς τὸν νῦν, your Abilities are not so good as I presumed (7).

(7) p. 170.
171.

Mr. Hales observes to his Friend, in order that he may the better judge of the nature of SCHISMS by their Occasions, that all SCHISMS have crept into the Church by one of these three ways; either upon matter of Fact, or matter of Opinion, or point of Ambition (8).

(8) p. 171.

I. A Schism is occasion'd by a matter of Fact, as 1. when the Western Church separated from the Eastern, upon their not agreeing in the time of Celebrating Easter (9). 2. In the Schism of the Donatists (10). Tho' in this Schism, says our Author, the Donatists be the Schismatics, and in the former both Parties are engaged in the Schism; yet you may safely upon your Occasions Communicate with either, if so be you flatter neither in their Schism (11). "For, adds he, in all pub-

(9) p. 172.
&c.
(10) p. 174.
&c.

(11) p. 177.

"lick Meetings pretending Holiness, so there be
"nothing done, but what true Devotion and Piety
"brook, why may not I be present in them, and use
"Communication with them? Nay what if those,
"to whose care the execution of the publick Service
"is committed, do something either unseemingly or
"suspicious, or peradventure unlawful? What if the
"Garments they wear be censured as, nay indeed be
"superstitious? What if the Gesture of Adoration be
"used at the Altar, as now we are learned to speak?
"What if the Homilist, or Preacher deliver any Do-
"ctrine, of the Truth of which we are not well
"persuaded (a thing which very often falls out) yet
"for all this we may not separate, except we be
"constrain'd personally to bear a part in them our-
"selves (12).

(12) p. 177.
178.

II. A Schism may arise upon occasion of variety of Opinions. For it hath been the common Disease of Christians from the beginning, says Mr. Hales, not to content themselves with the measure of Faith which God and Scriptures have expressly afforded us; but out of a vain desire to know more than is

revocal'd,

of, he wrote a Letter to the Archbishop,
wherein

reveal'd, they have attempted to discuss things, of which we have no Light, neither from Reason nor Revelation: neither have they rested here, but upon pretence of Church-Authority, which is none, or Tradition, which for the most part is but Figment; they have peremptorily concluded, and confidently imposed upon others, a Necessity of that nature: and to strengthen themselves, have broken out into Divisions and Factions, opposing Man to Man, Synod to Synod, till the Peace of the Church vanish'd, without all possibility of Recal (13). "Hence, continues Mr. Hales, arose (13) p. 180, 181.
"those ancient and many Separations amongst Christians occasion'd by Arianism, Eutychianism, Nestorianism, Photinianism, Sabellianism, and many more
"both ancient, and in our time; all which indeed are
"but Names of Schism, howsoever in the common
"Language of the Fathers, they were call'd Heresies.
"For Heresy, is an Act of the Will, not of Reason;
"and is indeed a Lye, not a Mistake:" And so
"Manichæism, Valentinianism, Marcionism, Mahometanism,
"are truly and properly Heresies: for we know that
"the Authors of them receiv'd them not, but minted
"them themselves, and so knew that which they
"taught to be a Lye. But can any Man avouch,
"that Arius and Nestorius, and others that taught erroneously concerning the Trinity, or the Person of
"our Saviour, did maliciously invent what they
"taught, and not rather fall upon it by Error and Mistake (14)?

As to that sort of Schism, Mr. Hales owns he doth not see, that *Opinionum varietas & Opinantium Unitas*, are Ἀνύστα; or that Men of different Opinions in Christian Religion, may not hold Communion in sacris, and both go to one Church. Why may I not go, says he, if occasion require, to an Arian Church, so there be no Arianism express'd in their Liturgy? And were Liturgies and publick Forms of Service so fram'd, as that they admitted not of particular and private Fancies, but contain'd only such things, as in which all Christians do agree, SCHISMS on Opinion were utterly vanish'd (15). He thinks that (15) p. 182, 183.
"Prayer, Confession, Thanksgiving, Reading of Scriptures,

wherein he explain'd and defended his
Tract

"ptures, Exposition of Scripture, Administration of
"Sacraments in the plainest and simplest manner,
"were Matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Li-
"turgy, tho nothing either of private Opinion, or
"of Church-Pomp, of Garments, of prescribed Ge-
"stures, of Imagery, of Musick, of Matter concern-
"ing the Dead, of many Superfluities, which creep
"into Churches under the Name of Order and De-
(16) p. 183. "cency, did interpose itself (16)". He concludes
184. that *wheresoever false or suspected Opinions are made a piece
of the Church Liturgy, he that separates is not the Schis-
matick; for it is alike unlawful to make profession of
known or suspected Falshoods, as to put in practice unlawful
(17) p. 184. or suspected Actions (17).*

III. The third Cause of *Schism* according to Mr.
Hales, is *Ambition*, by which he says, that *he means*
(18) p. 185. *Episcopal Ambition (18): which he reduces to these*
(19) p. 186. *two Heads: 1. Plurality of Bishops in one See (19). as*
it fell out amongst the Ancients very often, on several occa-
(20) p. 187, *sions mention'd by our Author (20). 2. Supremacy of*
188. *Bishops in divers Sees, one claiming Superiority over another,*
which after having been, says Mr. Hales, from time to
time, a great Trespasser against the Church's Peace, so it is
now the final Ruin of it; the East and the West, thro' the
Fury of the two prime Bishops, being irremediably separa-
ted without all Hope of Reconcilement. Mr. Hales adds,
that they do but abuse themselves and others, that would per-
swade us, that Bishops, by Christ's Institution, have any
Authority over other Men, further than of Reverence; or
that any Bishop is superior to another, further than posi-
tive Order agreed upon amongst Christians, bath prescri-
(21) p. 189. *bed (21).*

Now as to *Schisms* arising upon these Heads, says Mr.
Hales to his Friend, you cannot be for Behaviour much
to seek; for you may safely communicate with all Parties,
as occasion shall call you: and the **SCHISMATICKS**
here, are all those who are Heads of the Faction, toge-
ther with all those who foment it: for private and in-
different persons, they may be Spectators of these Contentions
as securely in regard of any Peril of Conscience (for of
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Tract with his usual Frankness, and strong way

danger in Purse or Person I keep no account) as at a Cock-fight. Where Serpents fight, continues he, who cares who hath the better? the best Wish is, that both may perish in the Fight (22).

After having thus deliver'd his thoughts on so important a Subject, he adds something in respect to CONVENTICLES, of the Nature of which his Friend desir'd to be informed. It evidently appears, says he, that all Meetings upon unnecessary Occasions of Separation are to be so stiled; so that in this sense, a Conventicle is nothing else but a Congregation of SCHISMATICKS: yet Time, adds he, hath taken leave sometimes to fix this Name upon good and honest Meetings (23).

(22) p. 190⁴
191.

He gives afterwards an Account of the occasion, necessity and reasonableness of appointing publick religious Assemblies, and of forbidding private ones. He observes, that while Men were truly pious, all Meetings of Men for mutual Help of Piety and Devotion, wheresoever and by whomsoever celebrated, were permitted without exception: but that when it was espy'd that ill-affected Persons abus'd private Meetings, whether Religious or Civil, to evil Ends, Religiousness to gross Impiety both Church and State joined, and jointly gave order for Forms, Times, Places of publick Concourse, whether for Religious or Civil Ends; and all other Meetings whatsoever, besides those of which both Time and Place were limited, they censured for Routs and Riots, and unlawful Assemblies in the State, and in the Church for Conventicles (24).

(23) p. 191.

From this Mr. Hales infers, that it is not lawful, no not for Prayer, for Hearing, for Conference, for any other Religious Office whatsoever, for People to assemble otherwise, than by publick Order is allow'd. Neither may we complain of this, says he, in Times of Incorruption; for why should Men desire to do that suspiciously in private, which warrantably may be performed in publick? But in Times of manifest Corruptions and Persecutions, adds he, wherein Religious Assembling is dangerous, private Meetings, howsoever besides publick Order, are not only lawful, but they are of Necessity and Duty (25). And such were, says he, the Meetings of primitive Christians, under the Roman Emperors, and of the English Protestants in the Reign

(24) p. 192⁴
193.

(25) p. 193.
194.

way of arguing (E). We have no certain Account of what pass'd afterwards between the

Reign of Q. Mary. The Roman-Catholicks themselves, pursues he, must allow this Doctrine to be true, if they will put off the Imputation of Conventicling here in England, where they are known privately to assemble for Religious Exercise against all established Order, both in State and Church. Mr. Hales concludes, by saying, that all pious Assemblies in Times of Persecution and Corruption howsoever practised, are indeed, or rather alone the lawful Congregations; and that publick Assemblies, tho' according to Form of Law, are indeed nothing else but Riots and Conventicles, if they be stained with Corruption and Superstition (26).

(26) p. 194.

(E) Mr. Hales wrote a Letter to the Archbishop, where he defended his Tract against Schism.] The Publick is indebted for the first Publication of that Letter to the Learned Author of the *Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures in the way of private Judgment*, &c. He added it to the seventh edition of that Pamphlet, printed in the Year 1716. It was probably found among the Papers of Archbishop Laud, which after the Restoration were taken from Mr. Prynne. It is a very material Piece; and well deserves I should give here an Account of it. Whereas of late, says Mr. Hales to the Archbishop in the beginning of the Letter, *an aborative Discourse indited by me for the use of a private Friend, hath without lawful Pass wandred abroad; and mistaking its way, is arrived at Your Grace's Hands: I have taken the Boldness to present myself before you, in behalf of it, with this either Apology or Excuse indifferently, being resolv'd in utramvis aleam, to beg either your Approbation or your Pardon* (1). He says afterwards, that "whatsoever there is in that Schedule, which may seem apt to give Offence, consists either in Phrase and manner of Expression, or in the Conceits and Things themselves, there press'd and insisted upon. For the first, adds he, whosoever hath the misfortune to read it, shall find in it, for Style, some things over-familiar, and subrustick; some things more sour and satyrical. For these, pursues he, my Apology is but this, That

(1) Several Tracts &c. ubi supr. p. 215.

" Your

the Archbishop and him. But tho' his Grace's notions concerning the Authority of the Church, &c. were not the same with those of Mr. Hales; yet it is hard to conceive how that Prelate could forbear admiring and esteeming a Man who did vindicate himself with so much Wit, Learning and Courage, and at the same time express'd so much humility, piety, and disinterestedness. We have all man-

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"Your Grace would be pleased to take into consideration, *First*, What the *Liberty of a Letter* might entice me to. *Secondly*, I am by Genius *open and uncautelous*; and therefore some Pardon might be afforded to harmless *Freedom and Gayety of Spirit*, utterly devoid of all Distemper and Malignity. *Thirdly*, Some part of the *Theme* I was to touch upon, was (or at least seem'd to me) of so small and inconsiderable a moment, and yet hath rais'd that Noise and Tumult in the Church, that I confess it drew from me that Indignation which is there express'd For all these things which I have above touch'd upon, my Answer is, *Incumbant in spongiam*. And I could heartily wish (for in the Case I am, I have nothing but good Wishes to help me) that they into whose Hands that Paper is luckily fallen, would favour me so much as to sponge them out (2).

(2) Ibid.
p. 216, 217.

As to the *Things discuss'd* in that *Treat*, Mr. Hales declares in general, that *if they be Errors which he hath here vented (as perchance, says he, they are) yet his Will hath no part in them, and they are but Issues of unfortunate Inquiry* (3). And he expresses how careful and constant he had always been in the pursuit of Truth (4).

(3) Ibid.
p. 218.

After this previous Declaration our Author observes, that "howsoever he hath miscast some Particels of his Account, yet he is most certain that the total Sum is right; for it amounts to no more than
" that

(4) See
below Rem
(G)

ner of reason to believe, that he desir'd the acquaintance and friendship of this excellent person: and some are even of opinion that he used his assistance in composing the second edition of his Answer to Jesuit Fisher, published in the year 1639, where the Objections of A. C. against the first edition are so fully and so learnedly confuted (i). It is certain that Mr. Hales was the same year prefer'd to a Canonry of

(i) This may be verified by comparing some of Mr. Hales's Pieces with A. C.'s Objections.

(5) Ibid. p. 219, 220.

(6) p. 220.

(7) p. 221.

(8) p. 223.

" that Precept of the Apostle— *As far as it is possible, have Peace with all Men* (5). And he further adds, " That there could be no great Harm in the Premises, where the Conclusion was nothing else but Peace (6).

These being premis'd, he says, that *all that may seem to lie open to Exception, is compris'd under two general Heads: his Carriage 1. towards Antiquity: 2. towards Authority.* He answers first those who thought *he had been too sharp in censuring Antiquity, beyond that good respect which is due unto it* (7): And as to Authority, he says, " Whereas in one Point, speaking of Church-Authority, I bluntly added [*which is none;]* I must acknowledge it was *uncautiously* spoken, and, being taken in a generality, is false; tho' as it refers to the Occasion which there I fall upon, 'tis (as I think I may safely say) *most true* (8)." He shews afterwards that by *Church-Authority*, he did not mean the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical persons in *Church-Causes* or *Matter of Fact*, wherein the said persons " in Cases of their Cognizance have the same Authority as any other have, to whom Power of Jurisdiction is committed. Their Consistories, pursues he, their Courts, their Determinations, stand upon as warrantable Evidence as the Decisions of other Benches and Courts do (9). But that by *Church-Authority* he visibly meant the Decision of Ecclesiastical Persons in Point of Church-Questions and Disputable Opinion. " I count," says he, in point of *Decision of Church-Questions*, if I

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" say o
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of Windsor (k), which could not be done without the Approbation, or Favour of the Archbishop, who had then so great an interest at Court, and was besides a great Patron of Learning and Learned Men.

Mr. Hales's *Tract concerning Schism* was printed in the year 1642, from a surreptitious Copy: and had the general approbation of those who were peaceably and charitably

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inclin'd;

(k) His Patent bears date the 23d of May 1639; by Virtue of which he was enstalled the 27 of June following. J. Walker An Attempt, &c. ubi infra pag. 94.

" say of the *Authority of the Church*, that it was none; I
 " know no Adversary that I have, the *Church of Rome*
 " only excepted: For this *cannot be true*, except we
 " make the *Church Judge of Controversies*; the contrary of
 " which we generally *maintain* against that Church.
 " Now it plainly appears, says he, that upon this
 " Occasion I spake it; for beginning to speak of *Schism*
 " arising by reason of ambiguous Opinion, I brought
 " in nakedly those words which gave occasion of *Of-*
 " *fence*; which if I had spoken with due Qualificati-
 " on, I had not erred at all (10).

(10) p. 123,
124.

Again, continues he, *Whereas I did too plainly deliver myself De Origine Dominii, and denied it to be founded either in Nature or in Religion; I am very well content to put off the Decision of this Point till Elias comes* (11). He shews it to be but a Point of mere Speculation, which in common Life and Use hath no place at all (12.) And adds that " Whether Dominion in Civilibus, or in sacris, be *κρίσις*, &c. or comes in by divine Right; it concerns them to look to, who have Dominion committed to them. To others, says he, whose Duty it is to obey (and myself above all, who am best contented to live and die a poor and private Man) it is a Speculation merely useless (13): " but he supposes, at the same time, that what is commanded to private persons by their superiours may be done with good Conscience (14).

(11) p. 124.

(12) Ibid.

(13) p. 225.

(14) p. 225,
226.

Lastly, he vindicates himself against some persons, who by reason of a passage, wherein he sharply tasked Episcopal Ambition, suspected that in his Heart he did secretly
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(l) See Remark (J).

(m) Dr. Heylyn dyed an. 1663.

inclin'd; being only disrelish'd by some few rash and turbulent Divines (l). The high value the English Clergy had for that Tract, soon after the Restoration of the Royal Family, is manifest by the Quotations Dr. *Stillingsfleet* made out of it in one of his Books (F). But it must be own'd, that since the publishing of Archbishop Laud's Life by Dr. Heylyn, in the year 1668 (m), several Divines of the Church of England seem to have been influenced another

lodge a Malignity against the Episcopal Order; and that under pretence of taxing the Ancients, he secretly lashed at the present Times: (15) He shews that he had not given the least pretence for such an Imputation: and concludes by rejoycing at the happy Condition of Episcopacy in the Church of England as it was then, and had been settled for well near one hundred Years (16).

(?) *Irenicum*, &c. p. 106. of the 2d edit. London 1662, in 4^{to}.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 108.

(F) The Quotations Dr. *Stillingsfleet* made out of it in one of his Books]. The Book I mean, is intitul'd *IRENICUM: a Weapon-salve for the Church's Wounds.* Or the divine Right of particular Forms of Church Government, discussed and examined according to the Principles of the Law of Nature, the positive Laws of God, the practice of the Apostles and the primitive Church, and the judgment of Reformed Divines. Whereby a foundation is laid for the Church's P E A C E, and the accommodation of our present Differences. Humbly tender'd to Consideration. By Edward *Stillingsfleet*, Rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire. It was first printed in the year 1661; and the next year came out a second edition of it, with an Appendix concerning the Power of Excommunication in a Christian Church. In Book I. Chap. VI. Dr. *Stillingsfleet* says, that *Opinionum diversitas Copinantium Unitas non sunt aduersa* (1), which are Mr. Hales's own Words. He shews afterwards, that " (2) That which seems most liable to censures in a Church, is Schism, as being immediately destructive of " that

ther way by a passage in that Life, and
 prejudic'd both against Mr. Hales and his
 Tract. Dr. Heylyn, who took for granted
 that

" that communion which should be maintain'd in a re-
 " ligious society. But as to this too, adds he, we must
 " observe something further, and not to think and
 " judge every thing to deserve the name, which is by
 " many call'd Schism; it being well observed by a very
 " learned and judicious Divine, *that Heresie and Schism,*
 " *as they are commonly used, are two Theological scarecrows,*
 " *with which, they who use to uphold a party in religion,*
 " *use to fright away such, as making enquiry into it, are*
 " *ready to relinquish and oppose it, if it appear either er-*
 " *roneous or suspicious. For as Plutarch reports of a*
 " *Painter, who having unskilfully painted a Cock, chased*
 " *away all Cocks and Hens, that so the imperfection of his*
 " *Art might not appear by comparison with nature; so men*
 " *willing for ends, to admit of no fancy but their own, en-*
 " *deavour to hinder an enquiry into it, by way of compari-*
 " *son of somewhat with it, peradventure truer, that so the*
 " *deformity of their own might not appear.*

*Tract of
 Schism 1642.*

Some pages lower, after having laid down this Pro-
 position: (3) *Where any Church, retaining purity of do-*
ctrine, doth require the owning of, and conforming to any
unlawful or suspected practice, men may lawfully deny confor-
mity to, and communion with that Church in such things,
without incurring the guilt of Schism; and alledg'd several
reasons to prove it: he adds, (4) To this I shall subjoyn
the judgment of as learned and judicious a Divine, as most
our Nation hath bred, in his excellent (though little) Tract con-
cerning Schism. " In those Schisms, saith he, which concern
 " *fact, nothing can be just cause of refusing commu-*
 " *nion, but only to require the execution of some un-*
 " *lawful or suspected act; for not only in reason, but*
 " *in religion too, that Maxim admits of no release,*
 " *cautissimi cujusque praeceptum quod dubitas, nè feceris.*
 " *And after instanceth in the Schism about image-*
 " *worship, determin'd by the second Council of Nice,*
 " *in which he pronounceth the Schismatical party to be*
 " *the Synod its self, and that on these grounds: Firſt,*
 " *because it is acknowledged by all, that it is a thing*
 " *unnecessary.*

(3) *Ibid.*
 p. 117.

(4) *Ibid.*
 p. 120, 121.

Mr. Hales
 of Schism p.
 8.

(*Remark*
E).

that Mr. Hales was the true Author of one of the Socinian Books I mention'd (*n*); and was besides so fond of Church-Power, &c. that

“ unnecessary. Secondly, it is by most suspected.
 “ Thirdly, it is by many held utterly unlawful: Can
 “ then (saith he) the enjoyning of such a thing be ought
 “ else but abuse? or can the refusal of communion
 “ here, be thought any other thing than duty? Here,
 “ or upon the like occasion, to separate, may perad-
 “ venture bring personal trouble or danger (against
 “ which it concerns any honest man to have *pectus pra-*
 “ *paratum*) further harm it cannot do, so that in these
 “ Cases you cannot be to seek what to think, or what
 “ you have to do. And afterwards propounds it as a
 “ remedy to prevent Schism, to have all Liturgies and
 “ publick forms of service so framed, as that they ad-
 “ mit not of particular and private fancies, but contain
 “ only such things, in which all Christians do agree.
 “ For, saith he, consider of all the Liturgies that are,
 “ and ever have been, and remove from them what-
 “ ever is scandalous to any party, and leave nothing
 “ but what all agree on; and the evil shall be, that
 “ the publick service and honour of God shall no wayes
 “ suffer: Whereas, to load our publick forms, with
 “ the private fancies upon which we differ, is the most
 “ sovereign way to perpetuate Schism unto the World's
 “ end. Prayer, Confession, Thanksgiving, Reading of
 “ Scriptures in the plainest and simplest manner, were
 “ matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy,
 “ though nothing either of private opinion, or of
 “ Church Pomp, of Garments or prescribed gestures,
 “ of Imagery, of Musick, of matter concerning the
 “ dead, of many superfluities, which creep into the
 “ Church, under the Name of Order and Decency, did
 “ interpose its self. To charge Churches and Litur-
 “ gies with things unnecessary, was the first begin-
 “ ning of all superstition; and when scruple of consci-
 “ ence began to be made, or pretended, there Schism
 “ began to break in; if the special guides and Fathers of
 “ the Church, would be a little sparing of incumbering
 “ Churches with superfluities, or not over rigid, either
 “ in

that he look'd upon Mr. Hales's Opinion
on that Subject as a very great Heresy;
reports (o) that in the year 1638, he (o) See Rem.
chanc'd (G.)

" in reviving obsolete customs, or imposing new, there
" would be far less cause of Schism or Superstition;
" and all the inconvenience were likely to ensue, would
" be but this, they should in so doing yield a little to
" the imbecillity of their inferiors, a thing which
" St. Paul would never have refus'd to do: mean
" while, wheresoever false or suspected opinions are
" made a piece of Church Liturgy, he that separates is
" not the Schismatick; for it is alike unlawful, to
" make profession of known or suspected falshood, as
" to put in practice unlawful or suspected actions.
*Thus far (concludes Dr. Stillingfleet) that excellent per-
son, whose words I have taken the pains to transcribe, be-
cause of that great wisdom, judgment, and moderation con-
tained in them; and the seasonableness of his counsel and
advice, to the present posture of affairs among us.*

In the eighth Chapter of the second Book he confirms,
by the judgment of the most eminent English and Fo-
reign Reform'd Divines, what he had asserted before, viz.
that no particular Form of Church Government was or-
der'd by the Laws of Nature and Christ, nor by the pra-
ctice of the Apostles or the primitive Church. For that
purpose he cites Archbishop Cranmer and other Divines
in Edward the sixth's time; Archbishop Whitgift, Bi-
shop Bridges, Dr. Loe, the learned and judicious Mr.
Hooker, King James I, Dr. Sutcliffe, Crakanthorpe,
Mr. Hales, and Mr. Chillingworth. And speaking of
these two last, " (5) To come nearer to our own un-

(5) Ibid.
p. 395, 396.

" happy times, says he; Not long before the breaking
" forth of these never sufficiently to be lamented Inte-
" stine broyls, we have the judgment of two learned,
" judicious, rational Authors fully discovered as to the
" point in question. The first is that incomparable
" man Mr. Hales, in his often cited *Treat of Schism*:
" whose words are these: *But that other head of Episcopal
Ambition concerning Supremacy of Bishops in divers Sees,
" one claiming Supremacy over another, as it hath been
" from time to time a great trespass against the Churches*
" peace,

chanc'd to be at Lambeth when Mr. Hales came there : the Archbishop, says he, having sent for him, on occasion of his Dis-

course

“ peace, so it is now the final ruine of it: The East and
 “ West through the fury of the two prime Bishops being ir-
 “ remedially separated without all hope of reconcilment.
 “ And besides all this mischief, it is founded on a Vice con-
 “ trary to all Christian humility, without which no man shall
 “ see his Saviour. For they do but abuse themselves and others,
 “ that would persuade us, that Bishops by Christ's institution
 “ have any superiority over men further than of Reverence,
 “ or that any Bishop is superior to another, further than
 “ Positive order agreed upon among Christians hath prescrib-
 “ ed: for we have believed him that hath told us, that in
 “ Jesus Christ there is neither high nor low : and that
 “ in giving honours, every man should be ready to prefer
 “ another before himself : which saying cuts off all claim
 “ certainly of superiority, by title of Christianity, except men
 “ think that these things were spoken only to poor and pri-
 “ vate men. Nature and Religion agree in this, that nei-
 “ ther of them hath a hand in this Heraldry of secundum
 “ sub & supra ; all this comes from composition and agree-
 “ ment of men among themselves ; wherefore this abuse of
 “ Christianity to make it Lacquey to Ambition, is a Vice
 “ for which I have no extraordinary name of Ignominy,
 “ and an ordinary I will not give it, lest you should take
 “ so transcendent a Vice to be but trivial. Thus that grave
 “ and wise person, whose words savour of a more than
 “ ordinary tincture of a true spirit of Christianity, that
 “ scorns to make Religion a footstool to pride and am-
 “ bition. We see plainly he makes all difference be-
 “ tween Church Officers to arise from consent of par-
 “ ties, and not from any Divine Law.”

The Reader will easily perceive, without my taking notice of it, that I have been obliged to set down at large the passages quoted by Dr. Stillingfleet out of Mr. Hales's excellent Tract concerning Schism, as the Dr. calls it ; that it might appear how much he approved it. We may see here likewise what great esteem and veneration he had for Mr. Hales. He calls him a very learned and judicious Divine ; as learned and judicious a

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course of Schism, in hope, adds he, that he might gain the Man whose abilities he was well acquainted with, when he lived in Oxon. The Dr. says further, that the Archbishop and Mr. Hales had together for several hours a very hot Discourse: and from what he assures us Mr. Hales told him afterwards, he infers that he was gained unto the Church of

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England

Divine, as most our Nation hath bred; an excellent person, whose words he had taken the pains to transcribe, because of that great wisdom, judgment, and moderation contained in them; a learned, judicious, rational Author; a grave and wise person, whose words savour of a more than ordinary tincture of a true Spirit of Christianity, that scorns to make Religion a footstool to pride and ambition; and allows him an equal Authority with the most eminent Divines of the Church of England: all which he had industriously and carefully avoided to do, had he not certainly known that the English Clergy did agree with him in their judgment of that incomparable man, for so he calls him likewise.

But this is not the only Book where Dr. Stillingfleet shews so great a regard to Mr. Hales's Authority. In his *Unreasonableness of Separation*, published twenty years after the *Irenicum*, he answers the Objection of a Dissenting Divine with a passage out of the *Treat concerning Schism*. Having said, that "he doth not mean by Separation any Difference in Doctrine, not determin'd by our Church, upon which Men do not proceed to divide from the Communion of it; and that he wonders, who ever did": he adds, "But Mr. B. is pleased to make another *Quere* about it. To this I shall answer him in Mr. Hales his words: *While the Controversies in Holland about Predestination, went no farther than the Pen-combats, the Schism was all that while unhatcht; but as soon as one party swept an old Cloyster, and by a pretty art made it a Church, by putting a new Pulpit in it for the separating party there to meet, that which was before a Controversie, became a formal Schism*" (6).

Treat of Schism, p. 3.
(6) *The Unreasonableness of Separation: or an impartial Account of the History, Nature and Pleas of the present Separation from the Church of England, &c.* By Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. Dean of St. Pauls, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. London 1681 in 4^{to}. pag. 146.

England by that Prelate, and that he gain'd a good Preferment in it; being promoted not long after by the Archbishop's Commendation to be Prebend of Windsor, and to hold the same by special dispensation, with his place in Eaton. I will examine Dr. Heylyn's Narrative (G): and hope to convince the Reader, that the Archbishop could not recall Mr.

Hales

- (G) I will examine Dr. Heylyn's Narrative, &c.] The Dr. after having observ'd, that as Archbishop Laud had labour'd by the means he relates, to preserve (1) the Church of England from the growth of Popery, so he took care for preventing the subversion of it, by the spreading of the Socinian Heresies; and directed the suppressing all Books of that nature, which had been imported into England out of other Countries: adds, “ (2) There had been published “ a Discourse, called *Disquisitio brevis*, in which some of “ the principal Socinian Tenents were cunningly insert- “ ed, pretending them for the best Expedients to ap- “ pease some Controversies betwixt us and Rome: The “ Book ascribed in common Speech to Hales of Eaton; “ a man of infinite reading, and no less ingenuity; free “ of Discourse, and as communicative of his Know- “ ledge as the Cœlestial Bodies of their light and in- “ fluences. There past also up and down a Discourse “ of *Schism*, not printed, but transmitted from hand to “ hand in written Copies, intended chiefly for the en- “ couragement of some of our great Masters of Wit “ and Reason, to despise the Authority of the Church. “ Which being dispersed about this time (3), gave the “ Archbishop occasion to send for him (4) to Lambeth, “ in hope that he might gain the man, whose abilities “ he was well acquainted with when he lived in Oxon. “ An excellent Grecian in those daies, and one whom “ Savil made great use of in his Greek edition of “ St. Chrysostom's Works. About nine of the Clock in “ the Morning he came to know his Grace's pleasure, “ who took him along with him into his Garden, “ commanding that none of his servants should come at “ him
- (1) Cyprianus Anglicus: Or the History of the Life and Death of William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Lib. IV. ad an. 1638. p. 361. edit. Lond. 1668. in Folio.
- (2) Ibid. p. 361, 362.
- (3) In the Year 1638.
- (4) The Dr. hath expres- sed himself here in a ve- ry loose and unaccurate manner.

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Hales from any Error or Heresy, since the Charge of *Socinianism* laid upon him by the Dr. is groundless; and that his Opinion concerning *Church-Authority*, contain'd in the

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" him upon any occasion. There they continued in
 " discourse till the Bell rang to Prayers, and after
 " Prayers were ended, till the Dinner was ready, and
 " after that too, till the coming in of the Lord Con-
 " way and some other Persons of honour, put a ne-
 " cessity upon some of his Servants to give him no-
 " tice how the time had passed away. So in they
 " came, high-coloured, and almost panting for want
 " of breath; enough to shew, that there had been
 " some heats between them, not then fully cool'd. It was
 " my chance to be there that day, either to know his
 " Grace's pleasure, or to render an account of some for-
 " mer commands (5), but I know not which; and I
 " found *Hales* very glad to see me in that place (6);
 " as being himself a meer stranger to it, and unknown
 " to all. He told me afterwards, That he found the
 " Archbishop (whom he knew before for a nimble
 " Disputant) to be as well versed in books as business;
 " That he had been ferretted by him from one hole
 " to another, till there was none left to afford him any
 " further shelter; That he was now resolv'd to be Or-
 " thodox, and to declare himself a true Son of the
 " Church of *England*, both for Doctrine and Disci-
 " pline: That to this end he had obtain'd leave to call
 " himself his Grace's Chaplain (7), that naming him
 " in his publick Prayers for his Lord and Patron, the
 " greater notice might be taken of the Alteration. Thus
 " was *Hales* gained unto the Church, and gained a good
 " preferment in it; promoted not long after by the
 " Archbishop's Commendation to be Prebend of *Wind-*
 " *for*, and to hold the same by special dispensation
 " with his place in *Eaton*.

In this Narrative, Dr. Heylyn asserts two things :
 first, That Mr. Hales was once a *Socinian*, and an ene-
 my to the *Authority of the Church*; and secondly, that
 he was reclaim'd from his errors by Archbishop Laud

in

(5) Dr. Heylyn was the Archbishop's Chaplain.

(6) The Dr. calls Mr. Hales his dear Friend in the *Quinquarticular History* Part. I. Ch. V. Sect. 7, & 10.

(7) Dr. Pearson *ubi inf.* doth not say that Mr. Hales was the Archbishop's Chaplain.

the *Traët of Schism*, tho' look'd upon as heretical by Dr. Heylyn, is no Heresy at all; but the true Doctrine of the Protestants.

in a Conversation that Prelate had with him, and thereby gained unto the Church of England.

(8) Rem.
(B).

(9) See the
same Remark.

The Imputation of Socinianism, the Dr. grounds upon this, that in common Speech a Book was ascribed to Mr. Hales, intitled *Disquisitio brevis*, in which some of the principal Socinian Tenents were cunningly inserted, pretending them for the best Expedients to appease some Controversies betwixt us and Rome. But I have proved that the *Disquisitio brevis* was not written by Mr. Hales, but by Stegmannus, a Socinian Minister (8). And I may add here, that Mr. Wood's misrepresentation of that Book (9), is taken from Dr. Heylyn, who, it seems, never read it, but spoke of it by guess, and as being possessed with a notion that Mr. Hales was the Author of it.

(10) 'Tis
likely the Dr.
means here
Mr. Chillingworth See
Rem. (C).
(11) Athenæ
Oxon. ubi
supr. c. 183,
184.

The Accusation of Mr. Hales's having been an Enemy to the Authority of the Church, the Dr. grounds upon his discourse of *Schism*, which was, says he, intended chiefly for some of our greatest Masters of Wit and Reason (10), to despise the Authority of the Church.

But that the Reader may better judge what stress is to be laid on this last Accusation, I must first give him some Account of Dr. Heylyn's Character. Mr. Wood (11) takes notice of his forwardness, high-conceit of himself, and confidence. He says, that he was a man of an high and audacious spirit: a bold and undaunted man among his friends and foes (tho of very mean port and presence) and therefore by some of them, he was accounted too high and proud for the function he professed. That on all occasions he was a constant Assertor of the Churches right; a severe and vigorous opposer of Schismatics, and that as to his historical Writings in some things he was too much a Party to be an Historian.

Tho' he had written several Books for the King's Cause, and had been deprived, by the Rebels, of his Benefices, and reduced to great want; yet he was not advanced to any considerable Dignity in the Church,

after

stants. It is certain, that the *Letter* which Mr. Hales did write to the Archbishop, to defend his *Tract of Schism*, was unknown to Dr. Heylyn, and overthrows his Assertions.

after the Restoration; because of his humour and temper. "In 1660, upon his Majesties return to his Kingdoms, he was restored, says Mr. Wood (12), to his spiritualities, but never rose higher than Subdean of *Westminster*, which was a wonder to many, and a great discontent to him and his; but, he adds, the reason being manifest to those that well knew the temper of the Person, I shall forbear to make mention of that matter any farther".

(12) Ibid. col. 184.

Dr. Heylyn was so jealous of the Church's prerogatives, that in the year 1627, as it is observed by Mr. Wood (13), "he answered *pro forma* (at Oxford) on these questions, 1. *An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis?* 2. *An Ecclesia possit errare?* Both which he determined negatively against the mind and judgment of *Prideaux* the King's Professor of Divinity in his lecture *de Visibilitate Ecclesie*, who thereupon, says Mr. Wood, fell foul upon him, calling him Bellarminian, Pontifician, and I know not what, and did his best to beat him from his grounds, but he held his own".

(13) Ibid. c. 181, 182. See also the *Life* of Dr. Heylyn by Dr. John Barnard, his Son in Law, printed London 1683 in 8^o. p. 105, 106.

Mr. Hales had very different notions of this matter. For being desir'd to give his Opinion on this Question, proposed by a Roman Catholick, *Whether the Church may err in Fundamentals*, he answers it in the affirmative (14): and to prevent equivocation or obscurity, he first of all defines what he means by the word CHURCH: By the CHURCH, says he, I will not trifle as your Catholick doth, and mean only the Protestant party, as he confesseth he doth only the Roman Faction. But I shall understand all Factions in Christianity, all that entitle themselves to Christ, wheresoever dispersed all the World over (15).

(14) In his *Tract concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*.

Now the Reader may easily imagine that such a Man as Dr. Heylyn, must take every Body to be a Heretick, who would not allow the Church the same

(15) *Several Tracts, &c.* ubi *supr.* p. 58. 59.

tions. So that we cannot rely upon any part of the Dr's Account of Mr. Hales's pretended Conversion to the *Church of England*, from which he had never departed.

I

(16) Rem.
(B).

(17) See
the Article
CRESSY
(*Serenus*).

(18) Wood
ubi sup. col.
21.

(19) See the
Article
CHILLING-
WORTH
(*William*).

same Power and Dominion as he did; and consequently could not but be highly offended at Mr. Hales's *Tract of Schism*, wherein it is asserted that *Church Authority IS NONE*. And so far the Dr. is in the right to say, that this *Tract teaches people to despise the Authority of the Church*; for it teaches us to reject all human Authority, and have no Rule of Faith besides the Scripture. But it must be own'd at the same Time that this is the true Doctrine of the Protestants, as I have observ'd before (16); and that whatever shifts and evasions some of them may use, they are forced to come into it, when they dispute with the Roman Catholicks. Mr. Chillingworth hath made it the Foundation of his *Religion of Protestants*, &c. and by urging and pressing it more than had been done before him, he hath extraordinarily annoy'd and perplex'd the Roman Catholicks, as they themselves own it (17). For which his Service he was rewarded with the *Chancellourship of the Church of Salisbury* (18): having, no doubt, obtained it chiefly by the recommendation of Archbishop Laud, who always had a great value for him, and was his great Patron (19). And this shews what little regard is to be had to Dr. Heylyn, when he represents Mr. Hales as a Man out of the pale of the *Church of England*, because he strenuously, but freely, openly, and candidly asserted the grand Principle of the Reformation. Dr. Stillingfleet had a very different Idea both of Mr. Hales and of his *Tract of Schism*; as it hath been shewn in the preceding Remark.

Having thus proved that Mr. Hales was not a *Soci-
nian*, and that his Opinion concerning the *Authority of the Church*, far from being heretical, is the true Doctrine of the Protestants: it follows that Dr. Heylyn's first assertion is groundless; and consequently that the

second

I take Dr. Heylyn to be the first who hath mention'd that Circumstance, and the only Authority that can be found for it: all other Writers, who speak of it, having

second is so too; since the Archbishop could not recall him from heretical Opinions which he never held, or from erroneous Opinions that are no Errors at all.

And indeed whoever knows the Nature of Man, will not think it probable that a person of Mr. Hales's Judgment, Learning, and Impartiality; being already 54 Years old; could in a few hours Conversation account false and heretical a Doctrine which he had always look'd upon as an essential part of his Religion; a Doctrine that must have been the frequent Object of his Inquiry and Meditation; and that had been solemnly professed and maintained by some of the greatest Men of the Church of England, then living.

These and the like Considerations would be sufficient to confute Dr. Heylyn's Assertions. But we may carry this point further, and bring it to a Demonstration, by plain matter of Fact. We have the *Letter*, which Mr. Hales writ to Archbishop Laud, to vindicate his *Tract of Schism*. He had said in that *Tract*, that *Church-Authority* was NONE: and tho' in his apologetical *Letter* he owns that expression to have been *uncautious*; yet he maintains it to be MOST TRUE, in the sense he spoke it. For, (as I have observ'd already (20), but cannot avoid repeating it here) he shews, that by *Church Authority*, he meant the Decision of Ecclesiastical Persons, in reference to controverted Points of Doctrine and Discipline, which he calls *Church-Questions*. "I count, says he, in point of *Decision of Church-Questions*, if I say of the *Authority of the Church*, that it was none; I know no *Adversary* that I have, the *Church of Rome* only excepted: For this cannot be true, except we make the *Church Judge of Controversies*; the contrary to which WE generally maintain against that Church. Now it plainly appears, pursues he, that upon this Occasion I spake it; for beginning to speak of *Schism* arising by Reason of ambiguous

(20) Rem.
(E).

having without any inquiry only copied it from him; adding however, as it happens but

“guous Opinion, I brought in nakedly those Words which
“gave Occasion of Offence; which if I had spoken with
“due Qualification, I had not erred at all.” We see here that the Words he had used in his *Traet*, viz, that *Church-Authority* was NONE, are the very Words that gave occasion of Offence, and contain the Doctrine so much abhor’d by Dr. Heylyn: Yet that he doth not disown or palliate what he had said; but on the contrary maintains it to be the undoubted Doctrine of the Protestants, and particularly of the Church of England, whereof he acknowledges himself a Member, when he says to the Archbishop, *the contrary to which WE generally maintain against the Church of Rome.*

(21) See Remark (E).

(22) *Traets*
&c. ubi supr.
p. 218. 219.

Mr. Hales clears in the same manner the other Positions of his *Traet of Schism* (21). And in reference to the whole, and in justice to himself (having, no doubt, been misrepresented to the Archbishop) he tells his Grace, how active, sincere, and unbiaſſed he had always been in the pursuit of Truth. “(22) Concerning the things discus’d in that Pamphlet, says he, I humbly beg leave, before I come to Particulars, to speak for myself thus much in general. If they be Errors which I have here vented (as perchance they are) yet my Will hath no part in them, and they are but the Issues of unfortunate Inquiry. Galen, that great Physician, speaks thus of himself, *Εγὼ δ’ οὐδ’ ὅπως εὐδύς, &c.* I know not how, (says that worthy Person) even from my Youth up, in a wonderful manner, whether by divine Inspiration, or by Fury and Possession, or however you may please to stile it, I have much contemn’d the Opinion of the Many; but Truth and Knowledge I have above measure affected: verily persuading myself, that a fairer, more divine Fortune could never befall a Man. Some Title, some Claim I may justly lay to the words of this excellent Person; for the Pursuit of Truth hath been my only Care, ever since I first understood the meaning of the Word. For this, I have forsaken all Hopes, all Friends, all Desires, “which

but too often in such Occasions, something
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" which might bias me, and hinder me from driving
" right at what I aimed. For *this*, I have spent my
" Money, my Means, my Youth, my Age, and all I
" have; that I might remove from myself that Censure
" of *Tertullian* — *Suo vitio quis quid ignorat*. If with
" all this Cost and Pains, my Purchase is but Error; I
" may safely say, to err has cost me more, than it hath
" many to find the *Truth*: and *Truth* itself shall give me
" this Testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it
" is not my Fault, but my Misfortune".

And this is the Person, who is represented by Dr.
Heylyn as a Sophister, that was *ferreted from one hole to*
another, till there was none left to afford him any farther
shelter; and who in some hours Conversation could be
brought to change his Opinions, and put on a new set
of Ideas!

The Dr.'s Narrative shews plainly, that he knew no-
thing of Mr. Hales's apologetical *Letter* to the Archbi-
shop; no more than of what pass'd afterwards between
them. He says they both *came in* from the Garden
high coloured, and almost panting for want of breath; and
from thence he infers, that *there had been some heats be-*
tween them not then fully cool'd: but as to the subject of
their Discourse, and the occasion of those *heats*, he leaves
us quite in the dark. He adds, that Mr. Hales *told*
him, he had been ferreted by the Archbishop from one hole
to another, till there was none left to afford him any farther
shelter: but doth not say what he had been *ferreted*
about. In short: the Dr., according to his own Ac-
count, was perfectly ignorant of what was debated in
the Conversation Mr. Hales had with the Archbishop;
tho' the knowledge of it should have been the ground
and foundation of his Assertions.

It would, I think, be needless to enter upon a more par-
ticular Examination of Dr. Heylyn's Narrative: all that
can further be said on it, amounting only to Conjectures.
I will not presume to affirm that the Dr. hath invented
this whole Account, to serve some purpose; as for
instance, to discredit Mr. Hales, and hinder his *Treat of*
Schism from having that influence, which so masterly a
Work

of their own to the Account of their Original Author, in order to inforce it, and to

Work of so great and good a man would naturally have upon the minds of all Readers, to prevent their submitting to some Opinions the Dr. was fond of. We have seen the use Dr. Stillingfleet has made of it in his *Irenicum*, published two years before the death of Dr. Heylyn. But allowing the Dr's Narrative to be grounded upon some real fact, who can tell how far he may have misrepresented that fact, either by too strong a prepossession; or by want of memory? Might he not fix upon Mr. Hales's words a meaning different from his, or even contrary to it? Dr. Heylyn's humour and way of thinking was so different from that of our Author, that what was a Jest or a Banter to one, might easily appear grave and serious to the other. And since Mr. Hales did, without doubt, perfectly know the Dr's Temper and Opinions, why might he not have made himself merry with him; being naturally gay and jocular; and have spoken in mere jest, what he took in good earnest? Certainly if some of the expressions which the Dr. says Mr. Hales used to him, were Mr. Hales's own words, we can hardly consider them otherwise than as a Banter: for they would be most absurd, and contrary to Mr. Hales's Principles and Conduct, if taken in a serious and literal sense. *He told me afterwards*, says Dr. Heylyn, *that he was NOW resolved to be Orthodox*. If we suppose this to have been spoken in earnest by Mr. Hales, it will follow, that he was then sensible that *before* his Conversation with the Archbishop, he had been a *Heretick*, but would *NOW* be *Orthodox*; and believ'd that, the taking a resolution to be *Orthodox*, was enough to make one *Orthodox*: than which nothing can be more ridiculous. The very word *ORTHODOX*, as there us'd, doth not suit with Mr. Hales's style: but is exactly agreeable to Dr. Heylyn's notions and way of writing. Again, the Dr. makes him say, that *he was now resolv'd to declare himself a true Son of the Church of England for Doctrine and Discipline*: as if Mr. Hales, who had so long been a Minister of the Church of England, and had on all occasions with so much Zeal and

force

to make it serve the better for their purpose (H).

Dr. Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, who had been intimately acquainted

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with

force of Argument defended her Doctrine against Popery; had then acknowledg'd that during all that time, he appear'd, and was in effect a *false Son* of that Church; an Enemy to her Doctrine and Discipline? For otherwise why should he say, that he was *NOW* resolv'd to *DECLARE* himself a *TRUE SON* of the same Church? The words *TRUE SON* of the Church of England, are no less inconsistent with Mr. Hales's style, than the word *Orthodox*. And now let the impartial Reader judge of the Conclusion, which Dr. Heylyn draws from the Premises: *THUS* was Hales gain'd unto the Church!

(H) I take Dr. Heylyn to be the first who hath mention'd Mr. Hales's pretended Conversion: all other Writers who speak of it, having only copied it from him; adding however something of their own to the Account of their Original Author.] I. The next Author I could find, who speaks of Mr. Hales's pretended Errors and Conversion, is Dr. Samuel Parker, whom K. James II, first made Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards President of Magdalen Colledge, when he was going to new modell that University. In 1672 he published Bishop Bramhall's *Vindication of himself and the Episcopal Clergy from the Presbyterian Charge of Popery, as it is managed by Mr. Baxter in his Treatise of the Grotian Religion* (1); and prefix'd to it a *Preface* of his own, shewing what grounds there was of Fears and Jealousies of Popery. In that Preface there was, says Mr. Wood " (2) a great deal of rallery against Dr. Job. Owen, his doctrine and writings Whereupon, continues Mr. Wood, our author Parker being esteemed by the Nonconformists a forward, proud, ambitious and scornful person, was taken to task, purposely to clip his wings or take him shorter, by their buffooning Champion Andr. Marvel sometimes one of John Miltons companions, in a book which he published entir. *The Rehearsal* " transpos'd:

(1) In 89.

(2) Ath. Oxon. ubi supr. col. 618. 619.

with Mr. Hales, and hath given us his Character, makes no mention of that Particular;

“ *transpros’d: or animadversions upon a late book entit.*
 “ A Preface shewing, &c. Lond. 1672. Oct.
 “ Which title, *The Rehearsal*, &c. was taken from a
 “ Comedy then lately published by George Duke of
 “ Buckingham called *The Rehearsal*, wherein one Mr.
 “ Bayes acteth a part”. Mr. Wood might have observ’d,
 that this Comedy was so call’d, because the Subject
 thereof is the *Rehearsal* of a Play, full of Absurdities
 and Nonsense, suppos’d to be *rehears’d* before the
 Poet that wrote it, who is there call’d by the name
 of Mr. Bayes (3), and who among several ridiculous
 things, which he says, gives an Account of his Art
 of making other Authors Thoughts his own, viz. by
 turning them into Verse, if they be Prose; and into
 Prose, if they be Verse; which last he calls *trans-*
prosing. From this, Mr. Marvel intituled his Book
 against Dr. Parker, *The Rehearsal transpros’d*; and in
 the body of it, calls the Doctor, Mr. Bayes. The Rea-
 der will perhaps be glad to find here some Parti-
 culars concerning Mr. Marvel. “ *Andr. Marvell*, says
 “ Mr. Wood, (4), was Son of *Andr. Marv.* the face-
 “ tious, yet Calvinistical, Minister of *Kingston upon*
 “ *Hull* in *Yorkshire*; and being very well educated in
 “ Grammar learning was sent to *Cambridge*, parti-
 “ cularly, as I conceive, to *Trin. Coll.* where
 “ obtaining the Mastership of the Lat. tongue be-
 “ came Assistant to *Joh. Milton* when he was Lat.
 “ Secretary to *Oliver*, and very intimate and conver-
 “ sant with that person. A little before his Majesties
 “ restauration the Burghers of his native place of
 “ *Kingston* before mention’d did choose him their
 “ Representative to sit in that Parliament that be-
 “ gan at *Westm.* 25. of *Apr.* 1660, and again
 “ after his Maj. rest. for that which began at the
 “ same place, 8 May 1661, and they loved him so
 “ well that they gave him an honourable pension
 “ to maintain him. From which time to his
 “ death (5), he was esteemed (tho in his conversa-
 “ tion very modest and of few words) a very ce-
 “ lebrated

(3) Under
the name of
Mr. Bayes,
the Duke of
Buckingham
did ridi-
cule Mr.
Dryden, who
was Poet
Laureat.

(4) Arth.
Oxon. ibid.
c. 619. 620.

(5) Mr. Mar-
vel dyed on
the 18. of
Aug. 1678.
Wood, ib. c.
620.

lar; tho' it was no less for the Advantage of his Readers, than for the Honour of his

celebrated wit among the Fanaticks, and the only one truly so, for many years after".

Dr. Parker answer'd Mr. Marvel in a Book intituled: *A Reproof to the Rehearsal transpos'd, in a Discourse to its Author: By the Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* (6): where-

in he did strive, to outdo his Adversary in Wit and Rallery; and Mr. Marvel did reply. *This Pen-combat, says Mr. Wood (7), exercised between our author (Dr. Parker) and Marvell was briskly managed with as much*

smart, cutting and satyrical wit on both sides, as any other perhaps of late hath been, they endeavouring by all the methods imaginable, and the utmost forces they could by any means rally up, to blacken each others cause, and to set each other out in the most ugly dress: (their pieces in the mean while, wherein was represented a perfect trial of each others skill and parts in a jerking, flirting way of writing, entertaining the Reader with a great variety of sport and mirth in seeing two such right Cocks of the Game, so keenly engaging with sharp and dangerous weapons). And it was generally thought, nay even by many of those who were otherwise favourers of Parkers cause, that he (Parker) thro a too loose and unwary handling of the debate (tho in a brave, flourishing and lofty stile) laid himself too open to the severe strokes of his sneering Adversary, and that the odds and victory laid on Marvell's side.

Let us see now what these two celebrated Champions have written concerning Mr. Hales. In the *Rehearsal transpos'd*, Mr. Marvel says in reference to some Quotations he had brought in against Dr. Parker, "(8) "And if this will not amount fully, I shall conclude "with a Villanous Pamphlet that I met with t'other "day; but of which a great Wit indeed was the Author 'Tis one Mr. Hales of Eaton; a most "learned Divine, and one of the Church of England, "and most remarkable for his Sufferings in the late "times, and his Christian Patience under them. And "I reckon it not one of the least Ignominies of that "Age, that so eminent a Person should have been by the

"Iniquity

(6) Printed London in 8^o. 1673.

(7) *Vbi supr.* c. 619.

(8) The Rehearsal transpos'd: or Animadversions upon a late Book, intituled, a Preface shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery.

The second Impression, with Additions and Amendments. London, printed by J. D. for the Assigns of John Calvin and Theodore Beza, at the sign of the King's Indulgence, on the South side the Lake Lemane; and sold by N. Ponder in Chancery lane. 1672. in 8^o. pag. 175, 176.

his Friend, to have it published, had he known it to be true. On the contrary, he

" Iniquity of the times reduced to those necessities
 " under which he lived; as I account it no small
 " honour to have grown up into some part of his Ac-
 " quaintance, and convers'd a while with the living
 " remains of one of the clearest heads and best pre-
 " pared breasts in Christendom. That which I speak
 " of is his little *Treatise of Schism*, which though I had
 " read many years ago, was quite out of my mind, till
 " I occasionally light upon't at a Book-seller's stall. I
 " hope it will not be tedious, though I write of some
 " few (and yet whatsoever I omit I shall have left
 " behind more) material Passages, &c.

(9) Ibid. p.
184, 185.

(10) Dr. Par-
ker.

After having transcribed several passages out of Mr. Hales's Book, Mr. Marvel says, (9), *When I had writ this, and undergone so grateful a Penance for no less than that I had transcribed before out of our Author* (10); *I could not upon comparing them both together but reflect most seriously upon the difference of their two ways of Discoursing. I could not but admire that Majesty and Beauty which sits upon the Forehead of masculine Truth and generous Honesty: but no less detest the Deformity of Falshood disguised in all its Ornaments. How much another thing it is to hear him speak that hath cleared himself from froth and growns, and who suffers neither Sloth nor Fear, nor Ambition, nor any other tempting Spirit of that nature to abuse him, from one, who as Mr. Hales expresseth it, makes Christianity Lacquey to Ambition.*

(11) A Re-
proof to the
Rehearsal
transpres'd,
&c. 1673,
p. 135.

(12) Dr. John
Owen.

(13) A Re-
proof, &c.
p. 136, &
seqq.

To this Quotation out of Mr. Hales, Dr. Parker answer'd thus: " (11) If Mr. Hales have printed any thing that reflects upon the Church of England (though ' I have a very deep respect for his worth and piety) it is no more to be regarded than if it had been bolted by such despicable Scriblers as yourself and J. O. (12)". The Dr. says afterwards, that Mr. Hales's definition of *Schism*, cited by Mr. Marvel, doth not justify the separation of the Dissenters from the Church of England. " And then, good Noble Marquess, pursues he (13), you might have put up your trumpery too, " and

he gives us an Account of Mr. Hales, which is absolutely inconsistent with that of Dr. Heylyn.

“ Mr.

“ and spared that grateful Penance you have undergone in transcribing so many pages for your own proper use out of that Authour. For whatever he hath suggested after this, you may assure yourself the Church of *England* neither is nor will be concerned.

“ I am not ignorant, continues he, that he has dropt some loose passages in that Treatise, for which himself was then censured, and the Book is still, though the Authour be pardoned, because as he did not first publish it, so he afterwards recanted it. At least it is too well known that this learned man was in his younger years too much tainted with the Socinian Tenets (perchance for their novelty and singularity) and so might vent some expressions derogatory to the established discipline of the Church in which he lived conformable to the mind and doctrine of *Socinus*. Who (you know) had an ambition to set up for as great a Patriarch as *Calvin*, and therefore labour'd as *Calvin* did to erect a New Church of his own, and distinct from all other Communions, only that it might bear his own Name. In pursuance of this design, he was forced to contrive such Conditions of Church-membership, as flatly condemn'd the Constitution of all the establish'd Churches in the world, and consequently warranted his separation from them. Of this if you are not satisfied you may see enough in his own Epistles to *Radecius* upon this Argument, where you may too (if you have any mind to it) trace Mr. *Hales* his Books of Schism, and undergo another as grateful a Penance in transcribing and construing as much more to your own, *i. e.* no purpose. The next time you nose the Church of *England* with Mr. *Hales*, let the *Disquisitio Brevis* be your Book. I will add no further censure of him, he was a good man, and therefore if he had any defects, I shall choose to cover them with that additional Civility that (you say) consecrates the ashes of the deceased.

Some

(p) Dr. John
Pearson in
his Preface
before Mr.
Hales's *Gold-
en Remains*,
ed. London,
1659. in 4^o.

" Mr. *John Hales*, says he (p), some
" time Greek Professour of the University
" of

(14) Ibid. p.
143.

Some pages lower, Dr. Parker justifies the Com-
mendations he had given to Bishop Bramhall in his
Preface, and adds, " (14) But if my character of him
" be too *termagant* (abuse me not for this fantastick
" word, as you do for several of J. O's, when it is
" your own) yet it is not so romantick, as your own
" luscious and fustian lines wherewith you would
" *embalm the ashes* of your own *Hero*, in whom you can-
" not but admire that *Majesty and Beauty* which sits upon
" the forehead of masculine Truth and generous Honesty.
" But we still take an higher flight, He was a
" man that had clear'd himself from froth and groans.
" As scurvy a Commendation this, as one shall likely
" meet with ! when the loftiest thing that can be said
" of so Great a Man as Mr. Hales, is, that he was
" neither a Madman nor a Fanatique (15).

(15) Ibid. p.
143, 144.

Mr. Marvel intitl'd his Reply to Dr. Parker: " The
" Rehearsal transpos'd : The second Part. Occasion-
" ed by two Letters ; The first Printed, by a name-
" less Author, intituled, *A Reproof*, &c. The second
" Letter left for me at a Friend's House, dated Nov. 3.
" 1673. subscribed J. G. and concluding with these
" words ; *If thou darest to Print or Publish any Lie or*
" *Libel against Doctor Parker, by the Eternal God I will*
" *cut thy Throat.* Answered by *Andrew Marvel* (16)."

(16) London
printed for
Nathaniel
Ponder 1673
in 8^o.

(17) The Re-
hearsal trans-
posed : the
Second Part.
pag. 338, &
seqq.

Iren. p. 120.

Mr. Marvel reply'd in this manner to the Dr's fore-
going passages. " (17) I had quoted upon oc-
" casion Mr. Hales his Book of Schism, And Dr. Stil-
" lingfleet (who though yet living, deserves the honour to
" be already cited for good Authority) does the
" same, as I find since, styling him as learned and ju-
" dicious a Divine as most our Nation hath bred, in his
" excellent though little Tract of Schisme ; and trans-
" cribes the same Passages. You hereupon laugh at
" me, for having said in his commendation that he
" was a man who had clear'd himself from froth and groans.
" Had I been the Author of that expression, it was
" not at all ridiculous, but is very proper and signifi-
" cant, and founded upon a Latine classical saying.
" But

" of Oxford, long Fellow of Eton College,
 " and at last also Prebendary of Windfore,
 G " was

" But the best sport is 'tis Mr. Hales his own words,
 " in that same book; and though Mr. Hooker were so long
 " winded an Author that you never could read him
 " methinks you might have had the patience upon this
 " occasion to have perused Mr. Hales his book of eight
 " pages.

" But to amend the matter you say, *the loftiest thing*
 " *that can be said of so great a man as Mr. Hales is, that*
 " *he was neither a Mad-man nor a Fanatick.* I yield, Mr.
 " Bayes, and instead of admiring *that Majesty and Beauty*
 " *which sits upon the Forehead of Masculine Truth and*
 " *generous Honesty,* I will henceforward admire only the
 " Maidenly modesty and roſial bluſhes that bloom on
 " your Cheeks and inhabit your Forehead. But this
 " will not ſuffice: Mr. Hales you ſay too was a Socini-
 " an. I ſee you did not ſerve your Fanatick Prentice-
 " ſhip in vain (18). No man can tell you truth but
 " he muſt preſently be a Socinian. You have ſpent
 " much paper in your *Deſenſe*, to decipher the Fana-
 " tick deportment toward all Adverſaries: but, whe-
 " ther, it be theirs or no, I am ſure you have learnt
 " it to the height. *He has drop'd,* you ſay, *ſome looſe*
 " *paſſages in that Treatiſe, for which himſelf was then*
 " *cenſured and the Book is ſtill, though the Author be*
 " *pardon'd, becauſe as he did not firſt publiſh it, ſo he*
 " *afterward recanted it.* Moſt judiciously ſaid, and in
 " the language of the Tribunal. But who told you
 " this fine Story? Doctor Heylyn I warrant you; for
 " as for your ſelf it appears you never read him."

(18) Dr.
 Parker had
 been bred a
 Diſſenter.

Dr. Parker made no Answer to Mr. Marvel's Reply.
 He judged it more prudent (19) rather to lay down the
 Cudgels than to enter the Liſts again with an untowardly
 Combatant ſo hugely well verſ'd and experienc'd in the
 then, but newly, refin'd art (tho much in mode and faſhi-
 on almoſt ever ſince) of ſportive and jeering buffoonry.

(19) Wood.
 ibid. c. 619.

And now we ſee, that Mr. Marvel, who glories in
 having had the Acquaintance and Converſation of Mr.
 Hales, calls Dr. Parker's account of our Author's
 pretended Socinianism and Converſion, a fine ſtory, or

“ was a man, I think, of as great a sharpness,
 “ quicknesse and subtilty of wit as ever this;
 “ or,

a ridiculous Fable; and attributes it to Dr. Heylyn in such a manner and with that contempt, as, at once, shews that he had in his eye the passage above cited out of the *Life of Archbishop Laud*; and implies that it was then notorious, that Dr. Heylyn was single in that relation, and not at all credited in it. But who told you, says he, *this fine story*? Doctor Heylyn I warrant you.

Had Mr. Marvel thought this story deserved any further attention, he might have observ'd, that Dr. Parker hath added some circumstances to Dr. Heylyn's Account. For he asserts that Mr. Hales was CENSURED for some loose passages he had drop'd in the *Treat of Schism*; but that he afterward RECANTED it: neither of which expressions are us'd by Dr. Heylyn. Dr. Parker says afterwards, that at least it is too well known that this learned Man was in his younger years too much tainted with the Socinian Tenets, and in another place, plainly supposes Mr. Hales to be the Author of the *Disquisitio brevis* (20). Where we may observe 1, that he varies from Dr. Heylyn's Narrative, in supposing that it was in his younger years that Mr. Hales was tainted with the Socinian Tenets, and that perchance out of novelty and singularity: Whereas according to Dr. Heylyn he must have continued a Socinian, till he was converted by Archbishop Laud, in the Year 1638; that is, till he was fifty four years old. 2, That this expression, at least it is too well known that he was in his younger years too much tainted with the Socinian Tenets; takes off from the former affirmation of Mr. Hales's being censured and having recanted: for in supposing his being tainted with the Socinian Tenets to be more certain and unquestionable than the other, he must suppose that other to be in some degree questionable and doubtful. And 3, this, that he thought most unquestionable, was really false. There is not the least appearance that Mr. Hales was ever a Socinian: and it is certain that he was not the Author of the *Disquisitio brevis*: who Dr. Parker takes it for granted; and the Belief of his

(20) See
 Rem.(B).

“ or, perhaps, any Nation bred. His industry
 “ did strive, if it were possible, to equall
 G 2 “ the

his being so, was probably the only cause of his being
 thought a Socinian.

II. Thomas Long, Prebendary of Exeter, publish'd
 in 1678 a Book intituled, *Mr. Hales's Treatise of Schism*
examined and censured (21): and in the Preface he
 says, that The fame of this and some other Opinions
 of our Author came to the cognizance of that great Lover
 of learning, and learned men, Arch-bishop Laud, who sent
 for him on purpose to admonish him of his faults; and he
 being come to the Palace in the morning, the Arch-bishop
 presently gives order to delay Dinner, (probably that he
 might have the more time for discourse with Mr. Hales)
 and taking him to his Garden with him, they continued
 their conference for some hours; after which they were
 very good friends, the Arch-bishop studying to prefer him,
 and he praying for the Arch-bishop as his Chaplain.

(21) See Re-
 mark (O).

Mr. Long doth not name the Author, who furnish'd
 him with these Facts: however there is no doubt but
 he had them from Dr. Heylyn, whose Narrative he cites
 and abridges some lines lower. Dr. Heylyn, says he, in the
Life of the Arch-Bishop, tells us of another Book, called
Disquisitio brevis, ascribed to Mr. Hales, in which some
 of the principal Socinian Tenents were cunningly inserted,
 pretending them for the best expedients to appease some
 controversies between us and Rome. And that the Treatise
 of Schism not then Printed, was transmitted from hand to
 hand in written Copies And that after the dis-
 course above intimated (22), which continued from Nine
 of the Clock till the usual time of Dining, was past, and
 the Lord Conway, and other Persons of Honor being there,
 some of the Servants thought it necessary to give him no-
 tice how the time had passed away, &c.

(22) This re-
 fers to what
 Mr. Long
 had said in
 the passage
 above cited.

Mr. Long assures us that Archbishop Laud sent for
 Mr. Hales on purpose to admonish him of his faults:
 which is a Circumstance not mention'd by Dr. Hey-
 lyn. And whereas the Dr. relates that about nine of
 the Clock in the Morning he came to know his Grace's plea-
 sure, who took him along with him into his Garden; and
 that, there they continued in discourse till the Bell rang

“ the largeness of his capacity, whereby he
 “ became as great a Master of polite, va-
 “ rious

to Prayers, and after Prayers were ended, till the Dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of the Lord Conway, and some other Persons of honour, &c: Mr. Long says, first, that Mr. Hales being come to the Palace in the morning, the Arch-bishop presently gives order TO DELAY DINNER, (probably that he might have the more time for discourse with Mr. Hales) and that taking him to his Garden with him, they continued their conference some hours. And in the very next page, he says, as if it were the words of Dr. Heylyn, whom he cites (23), that the discourse above intimated, continued from Nine of the Clock TILL THE USUAL TIME OF DINING. Which Circumstances, tho’ not material, shew the negligence of that Writer, who took so little care to be consistent either with Dr. Heylyn, or himself.

(23) At the end of the whole passage, he sets down: p 361, 362. meaning of the Life of Archbishop Laud, by Dr. Heylyn, cited in the beginning of the same passage.

(24) Athenæ Oxon. ubi sup. col. 124.

(25) See Remark (C).

III. Mr. Wood relates, but with some Additions of his own, what Dr. Heylyn reports concerning Mr. Hales’s heretical Opinions and Conversion. He says (24) that from the time of the Synod of Dort, where our Author Hales did good service in several respects, so far as his capacity did permit him, till about the year 1638, no great matters occur memorable of him, only his acquaintance with Will. Chillingworth, whom he assisted in his great work (25): which made him to be noted among the learned, especially for certain opinions that were not thought fit to be by him entertain’d. In that year, pursues he, Dr. Laud Archb. of Canterbury, who had received cognisance of his great worth, did send for him to Lambeth, sifted, and ferreted him about from one hole to another, in certain matters of Religion that he partly then, but more in his younger days, maintain’d: And finding him an absolute Master of Learning, made him, upon his compliance, one of his Chaplains, and procured a Canonry of Windfore for him, installed therein 27 of June 1639. which, with his Fellowship, was all that this most incomparable person, whom I may justly stile a walking Library, enjoy’d.

Tho’

“ rious and Universal Learning as ever yet
 “ convers’d with Books. Proportionate to his
 “ reading

Tho’ Mr. Wood doth not mention from whom he hath these Particulars (an Omission too frequent with him); yet that choice flower of Dr. Heylyn’s of *ferreting him from one hole to another*, betrays his Author. But he hath added several things of his own. He says that Mr. Hales’s having assisted Mr. Chillingworth in his great Work, made him to be noted among the learned, especially for certain opinions that were not thought fit to be by him entertain’d: which, at best, is but a Conjecture occasion’d by Dr. Heylyn’s Narrative. Mr. Wood says afterwards, that the Archbishop *sifted and ferreted him from one hole to another, in certain matters of Religion*: but Dr. Heylyn doth not mention what Mr. Hales was ferreted about. He adds, that our Author was ferreted in certain matters of Religion, that he partly then, but more in his younger days, maintain’d: and thereby he seems to have been willing to reconcile Dr. Heylyn with Dr. Parker about the time that Mr. Hales continued a Heretick; the latter only mentioning his younger years, and the former supposing that he remained so till the year 1638, when he was fifty four years old, as I have already observ’d.

In the next page, Mr. Wood cites both Dr. Heylyn and Dr. Parker. Speaking of the *Traet of Schism*, several copies of it, says he (26), were transmitted from hand to hand, and one coming into those of Dr. Laud, he therefore sent for him, as I have already told you, entred into a long discourse with him about certain particulars therein, and being drawn over to his mind, our Author Hales, as ’tis (f) said, recanted, and was then resolved (tho before inconstant) to be orthodox, and to declare (g) himself a true Son of the Church of England both for Doctrine and Discipline. Mr. Wood asserts that Archbishop Laud entred into a long discourse with Mr. Hales about certain particulars contain’d in his *Traet of Schism*; and did draw him over to his Grace’s mind, tho before inconstant: which Circumstances being not in Dr. Heylyn’s Narrative, must be of Mr. Wood’s own coining. And it may be observ’d that Mr. Wood sets a great difference between

(26) *Ubi supra*
 c. 126.

(f) Sam. Parker in his Reproof to the Rehearsal transposed, p. 135.
 (g) Pen. Heylyn, as before, an. 1638.

“ reading was his Meditation, which fur-
 “ nished him with a Judgement beyond
 “ the

between the Testimony of Dr. Heylyn and that of Dr. Parker. For he tells the *story* of the *discourse* between the Archbishop and Mr. Hales, as matter of fact: but when he comes to the *Recantation*, he mentions it only as matter of report, or a thing that was *said*. He would not say, Mr. Hales *recanted*; he qualifies it with an expression which leaves us in doubt, whether he himself believed it, or not: Mr. Hales, AS 'TIS SAID, *recanted*; (referring in the margin to Dr. Parker's Book): which expression a Man might truly use, that believ'd not a word of the *Recantation*. And thereby it appears that as little as Dr. Heylyn's credit, in this affair, is esteemed by Mr. Marvel, who was his contemporary: Dr. Parker's is supposed less by Mr. Wood, who liv'd in his time; and knew him as well as Mr. Marvel did Dr. Heylyn.

IV. Dr. John Walker, Rector of St. Mary's the More in Exeter, publish'd in 1714, *An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colledges, Fellows, Scholars, &c. who were sequester'd, harass'd, &c. in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion, &c.* and speaking of Mr. Hales he says, “ (27) It must not be conceal'd, that

(27) *An At-
 tempt &c.
 part II. pag.
 95. col. 1.
 London 1714
 in fol.*

“ in his Younger Days he was more than suspected of
 “ some very loose Opinions, which Favoured the Socinian
 “ Cause: And how much our Dissenters claim him for
 “ their own, is known to every body: But it is no less
 “ certain, that he was afterwards come wholly off from
 “ both the One and the Other of these, and Recanted
 “ these Opinions, as both Dr. Parker, and Dr. Heylin,
 “ directly affirm, and his own consequent Behaviour ma-
 “ nifestly shewed. To which purpose it may not be
 “ amiss to take notice, that a Friend of his finding
 “ him one day, Reading Calvin's Institutions, asked
 “ him, if he was not yet past that Book? To which he
 “ answer'd. In my younger days I read it to inform
 “ myself; but now I read it to Reform him.

Dr. Walker represents here Mr. Hales as guilty of two faults: one, that he held in his Younger Days some
 very

“ the vulgar reach of man, built upon
 “ unordinary Notions, rais’d out of strange
 “ ob-

very loose Opinions, which favoured the Socinian Cause. The other, is contain’d in this expression, that the Dissenters claim him for their own, which seems to me very ambiguous; for I presume Dr. Walker reckons it no fault, in any person that the Dissenters claim him for their own, if they claim him wrongfully, and therefore I understand him to mean that the Dissenters justly claim him for their own: which I apprehend must imply, either that he was a Dissenter; or that he held Opinions which justify them in their Dissention and Separation. And one of those two things therefore, will be Mr. Hales’s second fault in Dr. Walker’s sense. But he says, that Mr. Hales was come wholly off both from the ONE and the OTHER, and REGANTED THESE OPINIONS, as both Dr. Parker, and Dr. Heylin DIRECTLY AFFIRM. Now we have seen, that neither Dr. Parker, nor Dr. Heylyn do represent Mr. Hales as a Dissenter, or one who held Opinions that justify the Dissenters. And how could he be a Dissenter, or hold Opinions that justify a Separation from the Church of England, when he, a Man of so much integrity and disinterestedness, always steadfastly adhered to the Communion of the Church of England, from which he would certainly have separated had he held any Opinions that justified such Separation. For in the Tract of Schism, some tenets whereof it is pretended he recanted, he asserts that no Separation is justifiable unless it be necessary (28): and had he held it necessary, he had too much conscience, not to have separated.

(28) See Remark (D)

Dr. Walker tells us also, that Mr. Hales in his younger Days was more than suspected of some very loose Opinions, which favoured the Socinian Cause: and this he hath taken from Dr. Parker, who says, that it is too well known that this learned man was in his younger years too much tainted with the Socinian Tenets. But I have shewn that Dr. Parker here differs from Dr. Heylyn, his original Author, who supposeth that Mr. Hales continued a Socinian till

“ observations and comprehensive thoughts
 “ within himselfe. So that he really was
 “ a

till he was fifty four years old : and they appear to have been both misled by a prepossession of his being Author of the *Disquisitio brevis*.

Lastly, Dr. Heylyn doth not say, that Mr. Hales *recanted these* (or any other) *Opinions*: tho’ Dr. Walker averrs that he *directly affirms* it; and would make his Reader believe, that these words, *recanted*, &c. are Dr. Heylyn’s own words, by printing them in Italick.

As to the Answer Mr. Hales made to a *Friend of his* concerning Calvin’s *Institutions*, which Dr. Walker brings in as being to the same *purpose*; it doth not appear to be any thing at all to that *purpose*. For thereby he pretends, I suppose, to shew, that Mr. Hales was *wholly come off* from the respect and veneration he had once for Calvin; and consequently was no longer a favourer of the Presbyterians. But our Author’s Answer shews only that he did in respect to Calvin, what the Calvinists themselves must do, if they act consistently to their Principles: that is, read the *Institutions* of Calvin in *their younger days* to *inform themselves*, or to see how that great Man understands and explains the Scripture; and when they are come to riper years, and have a more mature judgment, read again his *Institutions* to *reform him*, or to examine what he says, and approve or condemn it, according as it appears to them agreeable or disagreeable to the sense of the Scripture. For the rest, this second reading of Calvin’s *Institutions* seems to imply that Mr. Hales had a particular esteem for that Book; tho’ he might dislike several Opinions contain’d in it: and we see that he confutes some of them in his *Traacts*.

(29) *Ibid.* p. 94, c. 1.

(30) The † before the word *Rational*, refers to a marginal Note which shall be transcribed and examin’d hereafter.

Dr. Walker had said before, concerning Mr. Hales,
 “ (29) About the Year 1638, his great Learning coming to the Knowledge of *Arch-bishop Laud*, that excellent *Prelate* sent for him, and discoursing with him upon several Points of Religion, did by † *Rational* (30) Conviction (not as some would have it by *Preferment*, viz. that of his *Canonry*) so fix

“ a most prodigious Example of an acute
 “ and piercing Wit, of a vast and illimit-
 “ ed Knowledge, of a severe and profound
 “ Judgement.

“ Although this may seeme, as in it
 “ selfe it truly is, a grand *Elogium*; yet
 “ I cannot esteem him lesse in any thing
 H “ which

“ fix and settle him in the Communion of the Church
 “ of *England*, that he ever after adhered stedfastly to,
 “ and at last suffered extreamly for it; which alone
 “ is a sufficient Evidence of his Sincerity: But if to
 “ this we add the Consideration of his great Serious-
 “ ness and Piety many Years before his Death, there
 “ can be no Question made, how groundless the Ca-
 “ lumny before suggested is, that it was *Preferment*
 “ and not *Argument* (or rather that *Preferment* was the
 “ *Argument*) which settled him in the Bosom of the
 “ Church of *England*. However this Fact is certain,
 “ that Arch-bishop Laud, soon after made him his
 “ *Chaplain*, and in the following year procured him a
 “ Patent for the *Canonry*, which bears date the 23d of
 “ May 1639; by vertue of which he was *Installed* the
 “ 27 of *June* following.

Dr. Walker says, that Archbishop Laud *discoursing*
with Mr. Hales upon several Points of Religion, did by
 RATIONAL CONVICTION *fix and settle him*
in the Communion of the Church of England: but he pro-
 duces no Authority for it; and this may be accounted
 one of those passages in his Book, wherein he says,
that he hath been oblig'd to supply the Want of more particu-
lar Intelligence by the Help of Gueses (31). I wish Dr.
 Walker had named the Authors (if there be any) who
 have said that it was *Preferment* and not *Argument*,
 which did settle Mr. Hales in the Bosom of the Church of
England. For it is not an easy matter to conceive what
 could give occasion to such a report; except it be
 Dr. Heylyn himself: for as he is not so forward as
 Dr. Walker, and doth not pretend to affirm that the
 Archbishop *discoursing with Mr. Hales upon several*
Points

(31) Preface,
 P. xxxiii.

“ which belongs to a good man then in
 “ those intellectuall perfections: and had
 “ he never understood a letter hee had
 “ other Ornaments sufficient to endear
 “ him. For he was of a Nature (as we
 “ ordinarily speake) so kinde, so sweet, so
 “ courting all mankind, of an affability
 “ fo

Points of Religion, did by **RATIONAL CONVICTION** fix and settle him in the Communion of the Church of England: the following Words of his, **THUS** was Hales gained unto the Church, **AND GAINED A GOOD PREFERMENT IN IT**, promoted not long after to be **PREBEND** of *Windsor*, &c; might be thought to insinuate, that it was *Preferment* and not *Argument*, or rather that *Preferment* was the *Argument* that settled him in the Communion of the Church of England. But whether any Author said so, or not; Dr. Walker is certainly in the right to maintain, that it was not *Preferment* or a *Canonry*, which did fix and settle Mr. Hales in the Communion of the Church of England; for he had been from his Youth fix'd and settled in that Communion, and never had separated from it.

(32) On the Words by *rational Conviction*. See above. N^o. (30).

In a marginal Note (32), Dr. Walker quotes Dr. Heylyn to confirm what he had said. Dr. Heylyn's *Account of this matter*, says he, *ought to be known to every one: his Testimony of it being beyond all Exception. For some Business calling him to Lambeth, he happened to be there at that very Time when the Archbishop had taken him in Hand. Mr. Hales being a perfect Stranger at that Place, was glad to see Dr. Heylyn there, having some Knowledge of him; and afterwards told him with his own Mouth, That he found the Archbishop (whom he knew before for a Nimble Disputant) to be as well versed in Books as Business; that he had been ferretted by him from one Hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further Shelter; That he was now resolved to be Orthodox, and to declare himself a True Son of the Church of England, both for Do-*

Erine

“ so prompt, so ready to receive all conditions of men, that I conceive it neerer as easie a task for any one to become so Knowing as so Obligeing.

“ As a Christian, none more ever acquainted with the nature of the Gospel,

H 2

“ pel,

Divine and Discipline; That to this end he had obtained Leave to call himself his Grace's Chaplain, that naming him in his publick Prayers for his Lord and Patron, the greater notice might be taken of the Alteration. *Life of Laud*, p. 340. After this, adds Dr. Walker, any one must be devoid of Common Sense, as well as of Shame and Modesty, who can pretend to claim this great Man for the Patron of our Modern Dissenters and Latitudinarians.

The manner in which Mr. Marvel treats this Story and Dr. Heylyn the Author of it, and the Observations I have made; will, I believe, be thought sufficient proofs that Dr. Heylyn's Testimony is not beyond all Exception, as Dr. Walker would have it. And as to the inference he draws afterwards, I must confess, that it would be pleasant enough, to see our Modern Dissenters claim for their Patron, a Divine of the Church of England, who being born and bred in her Communion, never forsook it, but did always firmly adhere to it. For how can they pretend to his Patronage, whilst they separate from his Church, and thereby shew that their practice and principles are contrary to his? But if our Modern Dissenters could find in Mr. Hales's Works, (in his *Tract of Schism*, for instance), some Positions which they think do favour their Cause; it is no wonder they should take an advantage of it. And if that were the true case, I should think, they might claim this great Man for their Patron, in those particular Positions, without being, as Dr. Walker phrases it, devoid of Common Sense, as well as of Shame and Modesty. The Concessions of the Adversary, or those who write on his side, are us'd by all Disputants, as Arguments *ad hominem*. But then the Dissenters cannot use them on this occasion, and

“ pel, because none more Studious of the
 “ knowledge of it, or more curious in
 “ the search, which being strengthened by
 “ those great advantages before mention-
 “ ed could not prove otherwise then
 “ highly effectuell. He took indeed to
 “ himsele a liberty of judgeing, not of
 “ others,

and cite Mr. Hales in their behalf, without acknow-
 ledging, at the same time, that he was none of theirs,
 but a true and undoubted Son of the Church of Eng-
 land : for else the Argument looses all its force, and they
 might as well cite Calvin.

Nor is their citing Mr. Hales as making for them,
 any proof of Dr. Walker's imputation of his having
 been a *Dissenter*, or a Favourer of Dissenters : for he is
 responsible, not for the use people pretend to make of
 his Positions; but for the truth and importance of
 them, as they are in themselves. There is no danger
 that true Positions, tho' cited in favour of those that
 are in the wrong, will ever support or countenance
 their Errors. It is possible indeed, that they may be
 successfullly apply'd in answer to false Arguments, which
 may happen to be advanced on the side of Truth. But
 this is no prejudice to the Truth it self; nor any blemish
 to the Author, from whom those Positions are
 borrow'd. The only person to be blamed in this case,
 is he, who by defending Truth unskilfully, exposes
 himself to be attack'd from Positions of undoubted
 Truth.

Dr. Walker hath not pointed out any of Mr. Hales's
 false Positions; nor indeed told us what Positions of
 his the Dissenters make use of. And the Truth is, our
 Author's Principles are so far from being intended to
 favour the Dissenters, that they are not calculated for
 any particular Sect or Communion of Christians :
 they are not so much what he framed as what he found.
 He deduc'd them from the Scripture, as he found them
 there; not so much to defend or condemn this or that
 Body of Christians, as to try them all thereby. Great

Men

" others, but for himsele: and if ever
 " any man might be allowed in these
 " matters to judge, it was he who had
 " so long, so much, so advantageously
 " consider'd, and which is more, never
 " had the least worldly designe in his de-
 " terminations ".

Mr.

Men of the Church of England have thought, and no doubt but others of them now think, that those very Principles condemn the *Dissenters*. If the *Dissenters* cite them likewise, nothing can be said more to their advantage, than that contending Parties, agree to them as Rules and Maxims, tho' they differ in the application of them: which is a property only attending certain and undoubted Truths.

V. This *Story* of Mr. Hales's having been a Heretic and afterwards converted to the Church of England, may, in some measure, be indulged in the polemical Writings of Divines, where passion, zeal, or prepossession do often carry the sway: and it is not to be wondred at in such Compilations of facts, sayings, and conjectures, as Mr. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and Dr. Walker's *Essay towards an Attempt*, &c. But it would be impardonable in an historical Work, intended for universal information, which ought to be written with a sedate, disinterested, unbiass'd mind. Nor is it enough for an Historian, to be a faithful recorder of such facts as occur to him: he must act the part of a Critick; be exact in the choice of his Authors; severe in examining the materials with which they furnish him; and judicious in his reflections and inferences. I was therefore not a little surpriz'd to find this Tale (concerning Mr. Hales) in a late *History of England*, written by Mr. *Laurence Echard*, Arch-deacon of Stowe.

In that *History*, under the Year 1638, Mr. Echard says that " (33) Archbishop Laud, to open the Eyes of
 " those who look'd on him as a Papist, and to justifie
 " the King from the like Slanders, did this Year en-
 " large

(33) *The History of England*, &c. Vol. II. p. 140. Lond. 1718 in fol.

(r) Wood ubi
supr. c. 124.

Mr. Hales was “ (r) highly esteemed
“ by learned men beyond, and within,
“ the Seas, from whom he seldom fail’d
“ to receive Letters every week, where-
“ in his judgment was desir’d as to several
“ points of Learning”. And as with
the profound Learning of a Scholar he had

(34) This
saying (ta-
ken from
Mr. Wood’s
Athenæ Oxon.
ubi supr. c.
22.) Mr. E-
chard repeats
again p. 512.
ubi supr.

“ large and reprint his famous *Conference with Fisher*
“ *the Jesuite*, and solemnly presented it to his Majesty.
“ The Archbishop, adds he, had made seve-
“ ral Converts from the Church of *Rome*, and par-
“ ticularly the great Mr. *Chillingworth*, a Man of so
“ strong a Head, that it became a saying in Oxford,
“ *That He and the Lord Falkland had such extraordinary*
“ *clear Reason, that if the Great Turk or the Devil were to*
“ *be converted, they were able to do it* (34). And this Year,
continues Mr. Echard, he had to deal with a Man
“ of a different Kidney, the celebrated Mr. *Hales* of
“ *Eaton*, a Person of infinite Reading and Ingenuity,
“ and as communicative of his Knowledge as the ce-
“ lestial Bodies of their Light and Influences. This
“ Man had imbib’d several Heterodoxical Notions in
“ Religion, but by the Archbishop’s great Industry, he
“ was brought over to be a true Son of the Church of
“ *England*, made his Chaplain, and prefer’d to the
“ Church of *Windsor*”. Mr. Echard concludes that
paragraph with this Observation: “ Yet, says he, none
“ of these Things cou’d satisfy or mollify the People of
“ *England* and *Scotland*, who by this Time had enter-
“ tain’d insuperable Prejudices against him (*Archbishop*
“ *Laud*) and his Proceedings”.

According to Mr. Echard, Archbishop *Laud* to open
the Eyes of those who look’d on him as a Papist, did these
three things: 1, he did in the Year 1638 reprint his
Conference with Fisher the Jesuite; 2, he had made Mr.
Chillingworth a Convert from the Church of *Rome*; and 3,
the same Year (1638), by his great Industry he brought
over to be a true Son of the Church of *England* Mr. Hales,
who had imbib’d several Heterodoxical Notions in Religion.

But

had all the Politeness of a man of the World, “ (s) When the King and Court resided at *Windsore*, he was much frequented by Noble-men and Courtiers, who delighted much in his company, not for his severe or retired Walks of Learning, but for his polite Discourses, “ Stories

(1) Wood.
ibid. c. 125.

(35) Wood.
ubi supra. c.

(36) *The History of the Troubles and Trial of Will.*

Laud, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury:

wrote by himself, &c. published by Mr. Wharton.

Lond. 1695.

P. 227.

(37) See the Article CHILLINGWORTH (William).

And here I beg leave to invite the

Lord Bishop of Bangor to publish the

Dates of the two Letters,

which he says in his

Letter to Dr. Snape, p. xliii.

he hath seen under Mr.

Chillingworth's own hand: for

unless they be dated before

his *Preferment* in the Church,

I humbly conceive they do

not make out, what his

Lordship intends to prove

by them. See Mr. Wood

ubi supra. c. 21.

and Dr. Bennet's *Essay on the thirty nine*

Articles. p.

taken 431.

But it happens very unluckily for our modern Historians, 1, that the Archbishop's Conference with Fisher, was not reprinted or published in the Year 1638, but in 1639: 2, Mr. Chillingworth left the Church of Rome in the Year 1631 (35), and therefore Mr. Echard ought to have mention'd his Conversion under that year, and not under the year 1638. And if his design was to bring together under the year 1638, all the Archbishop's Transactions, that shew'd he was no Papist; why did he not give an abstract of the Speech, which that Prelate made before the Lords, the first Day of his Trial; wherein he vindicates himself from the Charge of Popery, and names two and twenty persons, that he had converted from the Popish Religion to the Church of England. He might even observe that, tho' the Archbishop, in that Speech, lays claim to Mr. Chillingworth as one of his Converts, who lived and dyed a Defender of the Church of England (36), yet in bringing and receiving him into the same Church, he allow'd him some latitude of Opinions, and was pleas'd generously to indulge the scruples he entertain'd concerning some Doctrines, which are a material part of the Articles of the Church of England (37). These particulars, that tend so much to the honour of the Archbishop, had no doubt been more instructive and edifying to the Reader, than the Story of Mr. Hales's Heterodoxy and Conversion. Certainly, we may conclude from thence, that had Mr. Hales dissented in some points from the Articles of the Church of England, the Archbishop would charitably have overlook'd it, in a Man of such extraordinary Piety and Learning. 3, What Mr. Echard says here of Mr. Hales, deserves no further notice, being only

(t) I consider him here only as a Wit, and a great Poet. See Rem. (I)

“ Stories and Poetry ”. For he would sometimes divert himself with writing Verses: and as he was besides known to be an excellent Critick, his company was much desir'd by the greatest Wits and most celebrated Poets of his time, the Lord Falkland (t), Sir John Suckling, Sir William

taken from Dr. Heylyn; with this single variation, that he makes his conversion to be the effect of the Archbishop's great Industry, which Dr. Heylyn says was the consequence of one Morning's dispute.

But it will not, perhaps, be improper to dwell a little longer on Mr. Echard's concluding Observation. Yet, says he, *none of these things cou'd satisfy or mollify the People of England or Scotland, who by this Time had entertain'd insuperable Prejudices against him (the Archbishop) and his Proceedings.* Now Mr. Chillingworth's Conversion by the Archbishop, could not be known in England, and much less in Scotland, before that Prelate made it publick in his Speech; but these two ways: either by the Letters that passed between the Archbishop and him; which were kept private till that time: or by the Archbishop's or Mr. Chillingworth's mentioning it to their Friends; which would amount to no more than a bare report among few persons. Besides had that report reach'd Scotland, and been never so publick there, it had avail'd but little with the Scotch; for as they stood then affected, they must have looked upon Archbishop Laud's Converts, as not much better than Papists. Mr. Echard himself says that *by this Time, the People of England and Scotland had entertain'd insuperable Prejudices against that Prelate and his proceedings.* As to Mr. Hales's Conversion, far from being publicly known in Scotland, in 1638; it was not so much as heard of in England before the year 1668, thirty years after (38):

William
He us
very
versat

“(4)
“ last,

after (3)
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Account

to prov
mark.

(1) He
his com

William d'Avenant, Ben. Johnson, &c. He us'd often to meet them: and held very well his part in those ingenious Conversations (I).

"(u) He was a very hard Student to the last, and a great Faster, it being his
"con-

(u) Wood
ubi supr. c.
124.

after (38): nor was he pretended to be converted from any Errors of the Church of Rome.

In another place (39), Mr. Echard after having taken notice of the Time when Mr. Hales dyed, says of him among other things, that he did at first, *broach some Heterodox Opinions*; and gives a pretty extraordinary account of the cause of it. Dr. Pearson had indeed observ'd (40) that proportionate to Mr. Hales's reading was his Meditation, which furnished him with a JUDGEMENT beyond the vulgar reach of man, built upon extraordinary Notions, rais'd out of strange observations and comprehensive thoughts within himself. So that he really was a most prodigious Example of an acute and piercing Wit, of a vast and illimited Knowledge, &c. But what Dr. Pearson said of Mr. Hales's Judgement, by way of Panegyrick, Mr. Echard transfers to his Learning, and that in way of Derogation; and then very acutely finds out the Cause of his Heterodoxy. His LEARNING, says he, was vast and unlimited, rais'd out of uncommon Notions; strange Observations, and comprehensive Thoughts within himself, WHICH CAUSED HIM at first TO BROACH some HETERODOX OPINIONS, of which he cured himself, tho' the Venom still remains in the World.

(38) Mr. Lloyd, who hath collected in his *Memoirs*, published in 1668 all that he could learn concerning Mr. Hales, makes no mention of his pretended Heterodoxy or Conversion

(39) *Ubi supra* p 792. ad an. 1656, 7.

(40) See the Text of this Article, and Rem. (O).

Thus I have made it out, I hope, that Dr. Heylyn is the first who hath mention'd Mr. Hales's pretended Conversion, and that all other Writers, who speak of it, (as far as I was able to trace them) have only copied it from him; adding however something of their own to the Account of their original Author: which is all I intended to prove in this long (and I am afraid, tedious) Remark.

(I) He would sometimes divert himself with writing Verses; his company was much desir'd by the greatest Wits of his time;

" constant custom to fast from Thursday
 " dinner to Saturday: And tho a person
 " of wonderful knowledge, yet he was
 " so modest, as to be patiently content-
 " ed to hear the disputes of persons at
 " table, and those of small abilities, with-
 " out interposing or speaking a word, till
 " desir'd. As for his justness and upright-
 " ness in his dealings, all that knew, have
 " avouched him to be incomparable: For
 " when he was Burfar of his Coll. and
 " had received bad money, he would lay
 it

*time; and he held very well his part in those ingenious
 Conversations]. Mr. Hales's talent for Poetry appears
 by Sir John Suckling's mentioning him in his Sessions of
 Poets:*

*Hales set by himself most gravely did smile
 To see them about nothing keep such a coil!
 Appollo had spied him, but knowing his mind
 Past by, and call'd Faulkland (1) that fate just behind:*

But

*He was of late so gone with Divinity,
 That he had almost forgot his Poetry,
 Though to say the truth (and Apollo did know it)
 He might have been his Priest and his Poet (2).*

(1) Lucius
 Lord Falk-
 land

(2) *Fragmenta
 aurea: a Col-
 lection of all
 the incompa-
 rable Pieces,
 written by Sir
 John Suck-
 ling, &c.*

p. 14 of the
 3d. edit.
 Lond. 1658,
 in 8°.

There is among Sir John Suckling's Works a Letter
 in Verse, which, tho' Mr. Hales's name is not prefix'd
 before it, discovers it self to have been written to him,
 from London to Eton. Sir John invites him to come to
 Town, and enjoy the company of his friends. I
 suppose the Reader will be well pleas'd to find it
 ere:

SIR,

“ lit aside, and put good of his own in
 “ the room of it to pay to others. Inso-
 “ much that sometimes he hath thrown
 “ into the River 20 and 30 l. at a time.
 “ All which he hath stood to, to the loss
 “ of himself, rather than others of the So-
 “ ciety should be endamaged ”.

Our Author “ (x) was not onely most
 “ truly and strictly Just in his Secular trans-
 “ actions, most exemplarily Mecke and
 “ Humble notwithstanding his perfections,
 “ but beyond all example Charitable, giv-
 I 2 “ ing

(x) Dr. Pear-
 son, *ubi sup.*

SIR,

Whether these lines do find you out,
 Putting or clearing of a doubt;
 (Whether predestination,
 Or reconciling three in one,
 Or the unriddling how men die,
 And live at once eternally,
 Now take you up) know 'tis decreed
 You strait bestride the Colledge steed:
 Leave *Socinus* and the Schoolmen,
 (Which *Jack Bond* swears do but fool men)
 And come to Town; 'Tis fit you show
 Your self abroad, that men may know
 (What e're some learned men have guest)
 That Oracles are not yet ceas't:
 There you shall find the wit and wine
 Flowing alike; and both divine:
 Dishes, with names not known in books,
 And lesse amongst the Colledge Cooks,
 With sauce so pregnant that you need
 Not stay till hunger bids you feed.
 The sweat of learned *Johnsons* brain,
 And gentle *Shakespear's* eas'er strain,
 A hackney-coach conveys you to,
 In spite of all that rain can do:

And

“ing unto all, preserving nothing but
 “his Bookes to continue his learning and
 “himselfe: which when he had before di-
 “gested, he was forced at last to feed upon;
 “at the same time the happiest and most
 “unfortunate *helluo* of Books; the grand
 “example of learning and of the envy and
 “contempt which followeth it”.

It is reported that in his former days
 he had been heard to say, that *he thought he*
 (y) *Wood,* *should never dye a Martyr* (y): which saying
ubi supr. c. however doth not contradict his dying a
 125. Con-

And for your eighteen pence you sit
 The Lord and Judge of all fresh wit.
 News in one day as much w^have here
 As serves all *Windsor* for a year,
 And which the Carrier brings to you,
 After't hath here been found not true.
 Then think what Company's design'd
 To meet you here, men so refin'd;
 Their very common talk at board,
 Makes wise or mad a young Court Lord,
 And makes him capable to be
 Umpire in his Fathers company.
 Where no disputes nor forc't defence
 Of a mans person for his sence
 Take up the time; all strive to be
 Masters of truth, as victory:
 And where you come, I'de boldly swear
 A Synod might as eas'ly erre (3).

(3) *Ibid.* p.
 40, 41.
 (4) Mr. Rowe
 in his *Account*
of the Life of
Mr. William
Shakespear,
 prefix'd be-
 fore Mr.
 Shakespear's
Works, prin-
 ted 1709, in
 8^o. p. xiv.
 Mr. Rowe
 doth not
 mention
 from whence
 he took these
 particulars.

I said that Mr. Hales *beld his part very well in those*
ingenious Conversations: I shall give here a proof of it.
 “(4) In a Conversation between Sir John Suckling, Sir
 “William D'Avenant, Endymion Porter, Mr. Hales of
 “Eaton, and Ben. Johnson; Sir John Suckling, who was
 “a profess'd Admirer of *Shakespear*, had undertaken
 “his Defence against Ben. Johnson with some warmth;
 Mr.

Confessor. For when the Rebels had usurp'd the supreme Authority, his Loyalty to the King, and his Zeal for the Church of England, made him part chearfully with his Fellowship and Canonry, that is, with all the means of his Subsistence, rather than be wanting in his Duty.

The person, who had been put into his Fellowship at Eton, went to him some time after, and voluntarily offer'd to resign the place to him: but he refused it (K).

He

"Mr. Hales, who had sat still for some time, hearing Ben frequently reproaching him with the want of Learning, and Ignorance of the Antients, told him at last, *That if Mr. Shakespear had not read the Antients, he had likewise not stolen any thing from 'em; (a fault the other made no Conscience of) and that if he would produce any one Topick finely treated by any of them, he would undertake to shew something upon the same Subject or least as well written by Shakespear*". This saying of Mr. Hales is thus reported by Mr. Dryden (5): *That there was no Subject of which any Poet ever writ but he would produce it much better done in Shakespear*. And Mr. Tate hath express'd it in this manner: *Our Learned Hales, says he, was wont to assert, That since the time of Orpheus, and the Oldest Poets, no Common Place has been touch'd upon, where our Author (Shakespear) hath not perform'd as well* (6). But neither of them take notice of the Conversation above mention'd, nor do they tell us how that saying came to their knowledge.

(K) *The person, who was put into his Fellowship would have resign'd up the Place again to him, but he refus'd it*. Mr. Wood says that his name was Penwarden, and that Mr. Hales "refused, telling him, that the Parliament *having put him out, he was resolved never to be put in again by them* (1)". But this expression seems to be too loose and too general to be Mr. Hales's. For, a man's

(5) *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, p. 32. 1693, in 4^o.
(6) Mr. N. Tate in the Dedication before his Tragedy call'd the *Loyal General* Lond. 1680 in 4^o.

(1) *Ubi supr.* c. 124.

He was soon forced to dispose of the only thing left, which could afford him some Satisfaction in the World; I mean one of the best Collections of Books, that a person of his station ever enjoy'd. And that his Charity and his Generosity had allow'd him to spare, he had constantly employ'd towards the compleating of it. But the same charitable and generous Temper that had prevented his acquiring any other estate besides those Books, would not permit him to keep long the produce that had arisen from the selling of them. He shar'd it with several Ministers, Scholars, and others who had been also depriv'd of their Subsistence: whereby this resource soon fail'd him. He might have found it supplied by a Gentleman, who invited him to come to his House; had he not declin'd to accept that generous offer. He rather chose to take upon him the education of a Youth who liv'd near Eton. But the fury of the ruling Party would not suffer him to continue in that family: so that he at last, retir'd to Eton, and lodged in the House

man's property being taken from him unjustly by certain persons, is not a reason to refuse receiving it again, when the same persons offer to restore it to him. We must therefore suppose that Mr. Hales's refusal was ground'd upon some other Consideration: as, for instance, that he could not be readmitted into his Fellowship without complying with such things, as he did not think lawful or proper for him to submit to,

(L) He

House of a Widow, whose Husband had been his Servant (L).

In this obscure Retreat he was reduced to extream want: and a celebrated Author (z) very justly observes that it is *not* one of the least Ignominies of that Age, that so eminent a Person should have been by the Iniquity of the times reduced to those Necessities under which he lived. Nothing shews his unfortunate Condition better than the Con-

(z) Mr. Mar-
vel. See a-
bove Rem.
(H).

(L) He at last retir'd to Eton, and liv'd in the House of a Widow, &c]. These and the foregoing particulars I shall relate here more at large, and in the very words of the Authors who have furnish'd me with them. "(1) At length he being reduced to necessity, was forced to sell the best part of his most admirable Library (which cost him 2500 l.) to Cornelius Bee of London Bookseller, for 700 l. only, as I have been informed by persons of unquestionable veracity". "(2) The Produce of which he parted with by degrees, to many Scholars, Sequestred Ministers, and others that were in Want; particularly to the excellent Mr. Anthony Far-
ringdon, to whom he was so very helpful that he was the chief Support of his miserable Family". "(3) 'Tis true that one of the Sedleian Family of Kent did invite him to live in his Family, with an Allowance of 100 l. per an. the keeping of two Horses and a servants diet, but he being wedded to a retir'd and studious Life, refused to accept of that generous offer; yet about that time he accepted of a quarter of that Salary, with his diet, in the Family of one Madam Salter (Sister, if I mistake not, to Dr. Duppa B. of Sarum) who lived near Eaton, purposely that he should instruct her Son Will. Salter; but he being blockish, Hales could do nothing upon him". "(4) At last Dr. King, the suffering Bishop of Chichester, together with several of his Relations, retiring to the House of this Gentlewoman, they made a Sort of a Colledge there, and had the Prayers, Sacraments, &c. accord-

(1) Wood;
ibid.

(2) Walker's
Attempt, &c.
ubi sup. p 94.

(3) Wood,
ibid.

(4) Walker;
ibid.

Conversation which he had one day with Mr. Farindon, his intimate Friend (M).

Thus dyed that incomparable man, in the house of the Widow before mention'd on Munday the nineteenth day of May about

(5) Wood,
Ibid.

“ according to the Orders of the Church of England; in which Mr. Hales officiated as their Chaplain”. “ (5) Afterwards a Declaration issuing out, prohibiting all persons from harbouring Malignants, that is Royalists, he left that Family, notwithstanding the Lady desired him to the contrary, telling him, that she would undergo all danger that might ensue by harbouring him, and retiring to Eaton, he took up his quarters and sojourned in an house next to the Christopher Inn, belonging then to Hannah the widow of John Dickenson, (a Servant from his youth to our Author Hales) and afterwards the wife and widow of one Sim. Powney: which Hannah was very careful of, and respectful to him, as, having formerly at her Marriage received of his bounty ”.

(M) Nothing shews his unfortunate Condition better than the Conversation he had one day with Mr. Farindon his intimate Friend]. “ (1) This worthy Person coming once

(1) Walker
ubi s pr. p. 94

“ a Day to see Mr. Hales, some few Months before his Death, found him at his mean Lodgings at Mrs. Powney's House; but in a Temper gravely cheerful, and well becoming an excellent Christian under such Circumstances. After a slight and very homely Dinner, suitable to the Lodgings, some Discourse passed between them concerning their old Friends, and the black and dismal Aspect of the Times; and at last Mr. Hales asked Mr. Farrington to walk out with him into the Church-yard, where this great Man's Necessities prest him to tell his Friend, that he had been forced to sell his whole Library (save a few Books which he had given away, and Six or Eight little Books of Devotion, which lay in his Chamber) and that for Money, he had no more than what he then shewed him (which was about Seven or Eight Shillings) and besides, said he, I doubt I am indebted for my Lodg-

ing,

eight of the clock at night (a), in the year sixteen hundred fifty and six; having lived to the age of seventy and two years (b). He " was according to his desire, buried (but little better than in private) in Eaton College Church-yard. Over his grave was afterwards an Altar Monument erected, at the charge of one *Pet. Curwen* sometimes a Scholar of Eaton and his great Admirer, with an Inscription thereon

K

" (c)

ing. *Mr. Farrington* it seems, did not imagine that it had been so very mean with him as this came to; and therefore was much surprised to hear it; and withal said, I have at present Money to command, and to Morrow will pay you Fifty Pounds, in part of the many Sums, I and my poor Wife have received of you in our great Necessities; and will pay you more suddenly as you shall want it: To which he answered, no, you Don't owe me a Penny, or if you do, I here forgive you; for you shall never pay me a Penny; I know you and yours will have occasion for much more than what you have lately gotten: But if you know any other Friend that hath too full a Purse, and will spare some of it to me, I will not refuse that. To which he added, When I die (which I hope is not far off, for I am weary of this uncharitable World) I desire you to see me buried in († that) Place of the Church-Yard, (pointing to the Place) but why not in the Church, saith *Mr. Farrington*, with the Provost (2), *Sir Henry Wotton*, and the rest of your Friends and Predecessors? Because, says he, I am neither the Founder of it, nor have I been a Benefactor to it, nor shall I ever now be able to be so, I am satisfied".

Dr. Walker tells us in a marginal Note, how he came by these Particulars. " This Discourse, says he, between *Mr. Farrington* and *Mr. Hales* I had out of a loose Sheet, which was one of *Mr. Farrington's* Papers, retrieved by *Mr. Fulman* of C. C. C. in order to have written the Life of *Mr. Hales*. It was communicated

(a) It appears by the College Register that he was buried May 20. 1656.

See Mr le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana &c ubi infr. p. 45.

(b) Wood. ibid. c. 126.

† This Word is torn out of my Paper; but I presume it must be so supplied.
(2) *Sir Henry Savile*.

(c) *ibid.* “(c)”. I shall give a Copy of that Inscription (N).

(d) *ibid.* c. 125. “(d) Those that remember and were verily well acquainted with Mr. Hales, have said, that he had the most ingenious Countenance that ever they saw, that it was sanguine, chearful, and full of air: Also so that his stature was little and well proportion’d, and his motion quick and nimble. And they have verily supposed, that had not Extremities contributed to the shortning of his days, Nature would have afforded him life till he had been 90 years old or more”.

(e) Dr. Pearson, *ubi supr.* As to Mr. Hales’s Writings “I confess, says Dr. Pearson (e), while he lived none was ever more solicited and urged to write, and thereby truly to teach the world, than he; none ever so resolved (pardon the expression, so obstinate) against

“communicated to me by the late Mr. Arch-deacon Davies of Saperton in Gloucestershire, among several other Notices relating to my Undertaking. Wood Ath. Vol. II. p. 625.

(N) [I shall give a Copy of that Inscription]. Mr. Wood (3) *ubi supr.* c. 126. had given us the best part of it (1): but we have it entire in the Book intituled: *Momenta Anglicana: being Inscriptions on the Monuments of several Eminent Persons deceas’d in or since the year 1650, to the end of the year 1679. Deduced into a Series of Time by way of* (2) London 1718 in 8°. *Annals.* By John le Neve Gent. (2). It runs thus:

“gainst it. His facile and courteous nature learnt onely not to yield to that solicitation. And therefore the World must be content to suffer the losse of all his learning with the deprivation of himself: and yet he cannot be excused for hiding of his talent, being so communicative that his chamber was a Church and his chair a Pulpit.

“Onely, pursues Dr. Pearson, that there might some taste continue of him: here are some of his *Remains* recollected; such as he could not but write, and such as when written were out of his power to destroy”.

I shall give an account of the Pieces contain'd in those *Remains*, and of some other of our Author's Writings, that were

K 2

printed

Musarum & Charitum amor

JOHANNES HALESIUS

(Nomen non tam Hominis quàm scientiæ)

Hic non jacer,

At lutum quod assumpsit optimum

infra ponitur;

Nam certè supra mortales emicuit

Moribus suavissimis

Ingenio subrilissimo pleno pectore sapuit

Mundo sublimior

Adeoq; aptior Angelorum consortio (3).

Ætatis suæ 72.

Impensis Pet. Curwenni

olim hujus Coll. Alumni (4).

(3) Mr Wood
ubi supr. habet
it, Choro.

(4) Monumenta
Anglicana,
&c. p. 44.
Nº 114.

printed afterwards. (O). Most of these he wrote

(O) I shall give an Account of the Pieces contain'd in those Remains, and of some other of our Author's Writings, that were printed afterwards]. In the Year 1657 Timothy Garthwait a London Bookseller, having collected some Sermons and Letters of Mr. Hales, did commit them to the revisal of Mr. Peter Gunning, who dy'd Bishop of Ely; and knowing that Mr. Farindon had been Mr. Hales's intimate Friend, he writ to him in order to have his Opinion of those several Pieces. Mr. Farindon return'd him the following Answer:

"I am very glad you chose so Judicious an Overseer of those SERMONS of Mr. HALES as Mr. Gunning, whom I alwayes have had in high esteem both for his Learning and Piety; and I am of his Opinion, that they may pass for extraordinary. That Sermon of *Wresting hard places of Scripture* may well begin your Collection. The other on Rom. 14. 1. *Him that is weak in the Faith receive, &c.* was preacht at Pauls Crofs, and I moved him to print it. That of *My Kingdom is not of this World*, I once saw and returned to Mr. Hales with foure more which I saw him put into Mr. Chillingworths hands: I wish *Dixi Custodiam* (1) where perfect, I have often heard him speak of it with a kinde of Complacency. That of *He speak a Parable that men ought always to pray*, I believe is his by the passage of the Spunge and the Knife, which I have heard from his mouth. The Sermon which you had from D. Hammond upon *Remember, &c.* was preacht at Eaton Colledge. The other of Duels was either one or two, and preacht at the Hague to Sr. D. Carlton and his company. That you call a Letter on *I can do all things*, is a Sermon. The Sermon of *Peter went out and wept, &c.* — is under his own hand,

"One caution I should put in, that you print nothing which is not written with his own hand, or be very carefull in comparing them, for not long since one shewed me a Sermon, which he said was his, which I am confident could not be; for I saw nothing in it which was not *Vulgaris moneta*, of a

(1) A Sermon on Psalm xxxvii. 1. I said, I will take heed to my ways.

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wrote at the desire of his Friends: and
were

"vulgar stamp, common, and flat, and low. There
"be some Sermons, that I much doubt of, for there
"is little of his spirit and Genius in them, and some
"that are imperfect, that of Genesis 17. 1. *Walk be-
"fore me, &c.* is most imperfect, as appears by the
"Autographum which I saw at Eaton a fortnight since
(2).

"For his LETTERS, he had much trouble in that
"kind from several friends, and I heard him speak
"of that friends Letter you mention, pleasantly,
"Mr. — *He sets up Tops and I must whip them for him.*
"But I am very glad to hear you have gained *Those*
"Letters into your hands written from the Synod of
"Dort, you may please to take notice that in his young-
"er days he was a Calvinist, and even then when he
"was employed at that Synod, and at the well pre-
"sing 3. *S. John 16.* by *Episcopus*, — *there, I bid*
"John Calvin good night, as he has often told me. I
"believe they will be as acceptable, or in your phrase
"as Saleable as his Sermons, I would not have you to
"venture those papers out of your hands to me, for
"they may miscarry, and I fear it would be very dif-
"ficult to finde another Copy; peradventure I may
"shortly see you, at the Term I hope I shall, and then
"I shall advise you further the best I can about those
"other Sermons you have.

"I see you will be troubled yet a while to put things
"in a right way. I have drawn in my minde the *Mo-
"del* of his *Life*, but I am like Mr. HALES in this,
"which was one of his defects, not to pen any thing,
"till I must needs.

"God prosper you in your work and business you
"have in hand, that neither the Church nor the Au-
"thor suffer".

Mr. Farindon design'd to have prefix'd Mr. Hales's
LIFE to that Collection of his Works: but he dyed
the year following, before he had perfected it. In or-
der to supply that loss, the Bookseller applyed himself
to Dr. Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, who de-
clin'd entering upon the particulars of our Author's
Life

(2) in the
first ed. t. of
Mr. Hales's
Remains, that
Letter is only
dated *Seprem.*
but in the se-
cond edition
the date is
thus supplied:
September 17.
1657.

were it not for their occasional entreaties,

(3) London
Printed for
Tim. Garth-
wait at the
little North
dores of St.
Pauls 1659,
in 48.

Life, and undertook only to draw his Character, in an Epistle to the Reader. The Book was publish'd in the year 1659, with this title: *Golden Remains of the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton College, &c.* (30). In the Preface Dr. Pearson takes notice of Mr. Farindon's design to write the Life of Mr. Hales, and gives, at the same time, an account of his own Performance.

If that Reverend, says he, and worthy person Mr. Farindon had not died before the Impression of this Book, you had received from that excellent hand an exact account of the Authour's Life, which he had begun, and resolv'd to perfect, and prefix to this Edition. Dr. Pearson expresses afterwards how great the loss was both of Mr. Farindon's person, and of his Life of Mr. Hales: and then speaking of his own prefatory Discourse, he entreats the Reader, not to expect any such thing as a Life from him; but to accept of so much onely as was by him intended. "If Mr. Hales, pursues he, were unknown unto thee, be pleased to believe what I know and affirm to be true of him; if he were known, then onely be satisfied that what is published in his name did really proceed from him: and more then this needs not to be spoken in reference to the advancement of this Work; because he which knew or believeth what an excellent person Mr. Hales was, and shall be also perswaded that he was the Author of this Book, cannot chuse but infinitely desire to see and read him in it".

Dr. Pearson assures his Reader, that in drawing Mr. Hales's Character, he shall speak no more than his own long experience, intimate acquaintance, and high veneration grounded upon both, shall freely and sincerely prompt him to. And in reference to the second part of his design, he observes that that Collection of our Author's Remains, doth "consist of two parts, of Sermons, and of Letters, and that each of them proceeded from him upon respective obligations. The Letters, pursues he, though written by himself yet were wholly in the power of that Honourable person to whom they were sent, and by

ties, we had been depriv'd of the best productions of his Mind.

Mr.

"by that meanes they were preserv'd. The Sermons
"preached on several occasions were snatch't from him
"by his friends, and in their hands the Copies were
"continued or by transcription dispers'd. Of both
"which I need to say no more then this, that you
"may be confident they are his". Mr. Farindon's
Letter to Tim. Garthwait was printed after Dr. Pear-
son's Preface.

But to give a more particular account of the
Pieces contain'd in that Volume, I Must observe
that,

I. The SERMONS are nine in number: viz.

1. On 2 PET. iii. 16. *Which the unlearned and un-
stable wrest, as they do the other Scriptures, unto their own
destruction:* intitled, *Abuses of hard places of Scrip-
ture.*

2. ROM. xiv. 1. *Him that is weak in the faith re-
ceive; but not to doubtful disputations:* intitled, *Of deal-
ling with Erring Christians.*

3. LUKE xvi. 25. *Son remember that thou in thy
life time receivest thy good things:* int. *The Rich
man's Recepisti; or the danger of receiving our good
things in this life,* preach'd on Easter-day at Eaton Col-
ledge.

4. NUMBERS xxxv. 33. *And the Land cannot be
cleansed of blood, that is shed in it; but by the blood of
him that shed it:* int. *A Sermon of Duels &c. preacht
at the Hague.*

5. MATT. xxvi. 75. *And he went forth and wept bit-
terly:* int. *A Sermon of St. Peters Fall, &c.*

6. PHILIP. iv. 13, *I can do all things, through Christ,
that enableth or that strengtheneth me:* int. *Christian
Omnipotency.*

7. LUKE xviii. 1. *And he spake a parable unto
them to this end, that men ought always to pray and not
to faint.*

8. JOHN xviii. 36. *Jesus answered, my Kingdome
is not of this world: If my Kingdome were of this world,
then*

Mr. Farindon had begun to write Mr. Hales's

then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, &c.

9. 1 SAM. xxiv. 3. And it came to passe afterward, that Davids heart smote him, because he had cut off Sauls skirt.

(4) *Vbi sup.*
c. 125.

The first of these Sermons had already been printed at Oxford, in 1617, in 4^o. Mr. Farindon in his Letter seems to insinuate that the second had been likewise publish'd soon after it was preacht. And the following words of Mr. Wood, imply that the Sermon of Duells, was also printed before: "One Joh. Hales, says he, (4), hath a Sermon of Duells extant, on Numb. 35. 33. "which I take to be same with our Author, yet it is "not printed in his said Remains. Another also Con- "cerning the abuse of obscure and difficult places of Scrip- "ture, &c. Quære". Mr. Wood was in the right to think that the Sermon of Duells, he speaks of, is the same with our Author's Sermon on that subject: but his adding that it is not printed in his Remains, shews he did not well examine that particular: for had he look'd into the said Remains, he had found that Sermon printed pag. 74. of the edition of 1659. He would have found likewise that the Sermon concerning the abuse of obscure and difficult places of Scripture &c. about which he puts a Quære, is the first printed in those Remains.

(5) There is among them one of Dr. Balcanqual, dated the 13 of Febr. 1618.

II. The LETTERS were written from the Synod of Dort, to Sr. Dudley Carlton, who had sent thither Mr. Hales, as I observ'd already. There are thirty two of them (5). The first is dated the 14 of November 1618, and the last the 7. of February 1619.

To that Collection were added fifteen Letters, written to Sr. Dudley by Mr. Walter Balcanqual, who had been sent to the Synod as a Representative of the Church of Scotland,

These Letters have been receiv'd with great applause by the Arminians, in Holland, who are of opinion that they discover the partiality and injustice of the Synod against them. Fifteen of Mr. Balcanqual's Letters,

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ters, and seven of Mr. Hales's; were translated into Latin, and inserted in the second edition of the *praestantium ac eruditorum virorum Epistolarum Ecclesiasticae & Theologicae*, &c, published at Amsterdam in 1684, by Mr. Limborch, who gives this account of them, in the Preface: *Sed & non pauca hic, quibus historiae veritas explorari potest, monumenta comparent; & inter alia in epistolis Joannis Halesii & Gualtheri Balcanqualli plura in Synodo Dordracena secreto & post siparium gesta, ac haecenus orbi Christiano incognita, diductis quasi velis reteguntur: illa autem hic ea fide ac certitudine exhibentur, quae omnem dubitandi ansam penitus excludunt. Fuit siquidem Johannes Halesius Legatus Regis Magnae Britanniae Dudleij Carletoni facellanus, & a domino suo Dordracum missus, ut quae quotidie in Synodo gererentur ad ipsum perscriberet. Balcanquallus à Magnae Britanniae Rege ad Synodum Dordracenam Ecclesiarum Scoticarum nomine est missus, omnibusque actionibus Synodalibus interfuit: uterque (ut ex epistolis liquet) Remonstrantibus neutiquam addictus, licet postea Halesius in Remonstrantium sententiam concesserit: uterque gesta Synodi refert Legatus Regis Britanniae, qui hostilem suum in Remonstrantes animum tum acri contra ipsos in pleno Ordinum Generalium concessu oratione, tum aliis molitionibus, quin & in hisce epistolis, saepissime testatus est: adeo ut nulla locum habere possit suspicio, ipsos in Remonstrantium gratiam Synodi acti odiosius voluisse referre. Uterque res eodem quo scribebant die, aut saltem hebdomade, gestas, quarum proinde recens erat memoria, Legato narrat, & Balcanquallus nonnunquam non sine indignatione. Eas Anglico, quo scriptae sunt, idiomate primus vulgavit Reverendus in Christo Pater Joannes Pearson, nunc Episcopus Cestriensis, cujus nomen vel solius doctissimi in Symbolum Apostolorum commentarii editione (ne alia ejus nunc monumenta commemorem) in Anglia est celeberrimum. Earum praecipuas (quoniam omnes ob idoneorum interpretum penuriam & temporis angustiam non potuimus) quibus quae haecenus latuerunt reteguntur, ea quae potui fide, in linguam Latinam transferri curavi.*

Dr. Pearson ended his Preface with these Words:
"The Editor hath sent these abroad to explore what
"well-come they shall find; He hath some more of
his

equal to that task; for *there was none to whom*

" his Sermons and Tractates in his hands, and
 " desires if any Person have any other Writings of
 " the same Author by him, that he would be plea-
 " sed to communicate them to the Printer of this
 " work, T. Garthwait upon promise, and any other
 " engagement, that he will take care to see them prin-
 " ted, and set forth by themselves".

Notwithstanding this Advertisement, there were but few Pieces added to the *second edition* of Mr. Hales's *Remains*, printed in the year 1673, with this title: *Golden Remains of the ever memorable, Mr. John Hales, of Eaton Colledge, &c. The second Impression. With Additions from the Author's own Copy, viz. Sermons and Miscellanies. Also Letters and Expresses concerning the Synod of Dort, (not before printed,) from an Authentick hand* (6). And even these additional Pieces, seem to be only the *Sermons and Tractates*, which Dr. Pearson says were in *his hands*.

(6) London, printed by Tho. Newcomb, for Robert Pawlet, at the sign of the Bible in Chancery-lane, 1673, in 4^o.

I. The SERMONS added in that edition, are these:

10. On JOHN xiv. 27. *Peace I leave unto you: My peace I give unto you.*

11, 12. Two Sermons on 1 TIM. iv. 8. *But Godliness is profitable unto all things; intitled, The profit of Godliness.*

13. GEN. xxviii. 20. *And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, &c. intit. Jacob's Vow.*

14. On PSALM xxxvi. 1. *I said (or resolv'd) I will take heed to my ways; intit. Dixi Custodiam.*

II. These Sermons are follow'd by the MISCELLANIES. viz. 1. Mr. Hales's *Confession of the Trinity.* 2. *How we come to know the Scriptures to be the Word of God?* 3. *Concerning the Lawfulness of Marriages betwixt First Cousins, or Cousin-Germans, in a Letter dated Septemb. 8. 1630.* 4. *The Method of Reading profane History.* 5. *A Letter to an Honourable Person, concern-*

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whom Mr. Hales was so thoroughly known as
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ing the *Weapon-Salve*, dated from *Eaton Colledge* the 23
of November 1630.

III. There are no Additions to Mr. Hales's or Dr. Balcanqual's Letters in that edition: but at the end of the Book, some new Pieces were inserted relating to the Synod of Dorr, particularly six Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (one from Sr. Dudley Carlton and five from the English Deputies); and a Letter of the Bishop of Landaff, (the first of the Deputies) to Sr. Dudley Carlton (7).

The same year four SERMONS of Mr. Hales, different from the former, were printed by themselves, a second time, and by another Bookseller, with this Title: *Sermons preach'd at Eton by John Hales, late Fellow of that Colledge. The second edition* (8). These Sermons are:

1. On LUKE xvi. 25. *So remember that thou in thy life-time receivest thy good things; preach'd at Shrove-tide at Eaton Colledge.* This Sermon is the first part of that on the same Words, mention'd before, and call'd *The Rich Man's Recipisti.*

2. 1 CORINTH. vi. 13. *Meats for the belly, and the belly for Meats: but God shall destroy both it and them.*

3. GALAT. vi. 7. *Be not deceiv'd, God is not mock'd: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.*

4. MATTH. xxiii. 38. *Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.*

In the year 1688, there was published a third Impression of Mr. Hales's *Remains* (9): but it contains no more then the second. The four Sermons, just mention'd, have not been inserted in it.

In the second edition, Dr Pearson took notice of the Additions made to it: but having struck out what he had said in the former in order to invite those who had any more Writings of Mr. Hales to communicate them to Tim. Garthwait; Rob. Pawler, for whom that second edition

(7) Some of these Letters (translated into Latin) have been printed in the *Epistola ecclesiastica & theologica*, &c. ubi supra.

(8) London, printed by T. Newcomb for Richard Marriot, 1673, in 8°.

(9) London printed by T. B. for George Pawler, at the sign of the Bible in Chancery-lane, 1688, in 4°.

unto him, nor was there any so able to declare his

worth

(10) In the title before the first Tract (for every Tract hath a separate title) are these Words: London printed for John Blyth, at Mr. Playfords Shop in the Temple, 1677, in 8°. The general title hath only Printed in the year 1677. All the pieces contain'd in that Volume (except the first) are mention'd in the general title.

(11) Several Tracts &c. Lond. 1677 p. 3.

edition had been printed, put an Advertisement after the Preface, to the same purpose. Which shews that it was believ'd, there were several other Pieces of our Author in the hands of private persons, not yet printed. And that belief was not without foundation: for in the Year 1677, a new Volume of his Works was published intitled: *Several Tracts by the ever memorable Mr. John Hales of Eaton Coll. &c.* (10) with Mr. Hales's picture before it. There is no Preface nor Advertisement to that Volume. The editor hath conceal'd himself; and the Book, which is finely and correctly printed, seems to have been put out with caution. Whether this was occasion'd by any of the Pieces contain'd in it, the Reader will be better able to judge when he hath read the account I am going to give of them.

I. The first is, *A Tract concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost*, wherein Mr. Hales chiefly examines and confutes Calvin's Opinion on that Subject. Where Calvin and others call the Sin, our Author calls the *Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*, and defines thus: *The Blasphemy against the Holy, Ghost was an evil speaking of, or slandering of the Miracles which our Saviour did by those, who though they were convinced by the Miracles to believe that such Works could not be done, but by the power of God, yet they did maliciously say, they were wrought by the power of the Devil* (11).

II. The second is intitled, *A Tract concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*; but the editor should have added these Words: *and concerning the Question, Whether the Church may err in Fundamentals*: for it turns upon those two points. It is an Answer to some Objections of a Roman Catholick and of a Protestant which were sent to our Author by one of his Friends. "In perusal of your Letters, together with the schedule inclosed, says Mr. Hales to his Friend, no Circumstance did so much move me, as this, that so ordinary Points as are discuss'd there, and that in a bare and ordinary manner, should amuse either yourself or any man else, that pretends to ordinary Know-

ledge

rib, partly by reason of his own abilities,
eminently

ledge in Controversies in Christian Religion. For the Points therein discusst are no other than the subject of every common Pamphlet, and sufficiently known (that I may so say) in every Barber's Shop. Yet because you require my Opinion of matters there in question, I willingly afford it you, though I fear I shall more amuse you with telling you the Truth, than the Disputants there did, by abusing you with Error. For the plain and necessary (though perhaps unwelcome) Truth is, that in the greater part of the Dispute, both parties much mistook themselves, and that fell out which is the common Proverb, 'sc. *Whilst the one milks the Ram, the other holds under the Sieve*. That you may see this Truth with your Eyes, I divide your whole Dispute into two Heads; the one concerning the *Eucharist*, the other concerning the *Churches mistaking it self about Fundamentals* (12)".

(12) *Traffs*
&c. *ibid.* p.
39 & seqq.

Mr. Hales reduces the Doctrine of the Eucharist to the following Propositions:

"First, In the Communion there is nothing given but Bread, and Wine.

"Secondly, The Bread and Wine are signs indeed, but not of any thing there exhibited, but of somewhat given long since, even of Christ given for us upon the Cross sixteen hundred years ago, and more.

"Thirdly, Jesus Christ is eaten at the Communion Table in no sence, neither Spiritually, by virtue of any thing done there, nor really, neither Metaphorically, nor Literally. Indeed that which is eaten (I mean the Bread) is called Christ by a Metaphor; but it is eaten truly and properly.

"Fourthly, The spiritual eating of Christ is common to all places, as well as the Lord's Table.

"Last of all, The Uses and Ends of the Lord's Supper can be no more than such as are mention'd in the Scriptures, and they are but two:

"First,

eminently known, principally because he learned
his

"First, The commemoration of the Death and Passion of the Son of God, specified by himself at the Institution of the Ceremony.

"Secondly, To testify our Union with Christ, and Communion one with another; which end St. Paul hath taught us.

"In these few Conclusions, says Mr. Hales to his Friend, the whole Doctrine and Use of the Lord's Supper is fully set down; and whoso leadeth you beyond this, doth but abuse you. *Quicquid ultra queritur, non intelligitur* (13).

(13) *Ibid.* p. 60 & seqq.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 56, 57.

NOTE, that the Parenthesis, at the end of this paragraph, is an evident proof, that Mr. Hales believ'd the Divinity of Jesus Christ.

Our Author had observ'd before, that the Protestant Opinion of a Real Presence, first invented by Martin Bucer, and from him descended into the Writings of Calvin and Beza, whose Authority have well-near spread it over the face of the Reformed Churches; is an Error which touches the Essence of that holy Action: but, pursues he, there are many now which touch the end and use of it; which are practised by the Reformed parts; for out of an extravagant fancy they have of it, they abuse it to many ends, of which we may think the first Institutor (save that he was God (14), and knew all things) never thought of.

Among these Errors he reckons giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to sick persons. "We teach it," says he, to be *Viaticum morientium*, whereby we abuse many distressed Consciences, and sick Bodies, who seek for comfort there, and finding it not, conclude from thence (I speak what I know) some defect in their Faith. The participation of this Sacrament to sick and weak persons, what unseemly events hath is occasioned, the vomiting up of the Elements anon, upon the receipt of them, the resurging the Wine into the Cup, before the Minister could remove his hand to the interruption of the action? Now all these Mistakes and Errors have risen upon some ungrounded and fond practices, crept long since (God knows how) into the Church, and as yet not sufficiently purged out". Mr. Hales undertakes afterwards to inform his friend, what it is, which is

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his Authour from an intimate converse, who
was

ἡρώτων ἑσῶδο, the main fundamental fallacy, whence (15) pag. 58, 59.
all these abuses have sprung (15).

What Mr. Hales says here about administering the Eucharist to sick persons, was highly disrelisht by Dr. Tho. Smith, in his *Account of the Greek Church*. After having observ'd that the Greeks do reserve the Sacrament for the use of sick persons, he makes a digression about the original of this Custom, which he concludes with these words: " (16) This shews us, that they had such an " high esteem and reverence of the Sacrament in ancient times, as to judge it almost absolutely necessary " in articulo mortis: which deserves the highest commendation and encouragement". Mr. Hales's Opinion of that matter is so wide of these notions, that it is no wonder Dr. Smith should pass the following Censure upon him.

(16) *An Account of the Greek Church, as to its Doctrine and Rites of Worship &c.* By Tho. Smith, B. D. and Fellow of S. Mary Magdalen College Oxon. Lond. 1680, p. 169 in 8°.

" I cannot, says he, here forbear my wonder at the " odde fancies of a late learned Writer concerning the " Blessed Sacrament, in which, as in many other arguments of Religion, he chose to be singular, presuming too much upon the strength and nimbleness of his wit, to make out plausibly any Paradox, he, to run counter to the Times, unluckily pitch upon. And I think the Publisher of these Posthumous Remains was not aware of the ill effects that such Notions, whereby the Blessed Sacrament is so horribly slighted, may produce to the cooling those ardours of Devotion and Zeal, which all truly devout persons have to this Holy Institution of our Saviour. No person certainly whatever can receive the Symbols of our Blessed Saviour's Passion and Death too often, so he come with that due preparation of mind which these pure and tremendous Mysteries require: and the time of one's last Sickness especially is very proper. Our Church, indeed, has declared, that a frequent and conscientious use of the Sacrament in the time of Health is sufficient; and that such devout and religious persons, in case of sudden Sickness, have less cause to be disquieted for the lack of the same. Our Salvation does not necessarily depend upon, nor is " restrained

A just Censure on a little posthumous Piece of Mrs J. H.

was a man never to be truly express'd but by himself

"restrained to an external and oral Communion; whether there be or be not an opportunity, God accepts the will and desire of a contrite and devout heart, in stead of this commemorative Sacrifice. Nor do we attribute so much efficacy to the Sacramental Sign, as to the internal Grace, for fear we should detract from the perfection of the Sacrifice of the real and natural Body of our Saviour, once offered upon the Cross, of which this is a Type and a Representation, though not onely so. I urge it no farther, but that it is very convenient for sick persons, when they foresee that their Sickness may prove mortal, to receive; and undoubtedly they would find the great benefit of it (17)".

(17) Dr. Tho. Smith *ubi* *supr.* p. 169. & *seqq.*

In the second part of this *Traët*, Mr. Hales answers the Question, *Whether the Church may err in Fundamentals*, in the affirmative: and after having explain'd what he understands by the Word CHURCH (18), he proves his Assertion, by several Arguments.

(18) See above Remark (G) No. (14).

He concludes that Piece by telling his Friend that, if he shall favour him so much as to carefully read what he hath carefully written, he shall find (at least in those Points he occasioned him to touch upon) sufficient ground to plant himself strongly against all Discourse of the Romish Corner-creepers, which they use for the seducing of unstable Souls (19).

(19) *Traët* &c p. 85.

III. The third Piece is, *A Paraphrase on the xii Chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew*. It is written by way of Dialogue, between a Master and a Scholar. By the Beginning of it, it appears that our Author had written a like Paraphrase on the xi Chapter of the same Gospel.

IV. The fourth is, *A Traët concerning the Power of the Keys, and auricular Confession*. It is a Letter, occasion'd by some Queries, sent to Mr. Hales by one of his friends, with that friend's Opinion upon them: viz. 1. Whether the Apostles receiving the power of the Keys, had it as Judges, *Authoritative*; or as Messengers, *Declarative*, only to propound and denounce? 2. Whether the Keys were confin'd to the Apostles only? 3. What

himself perfect

3. What Confession? sense of Christian Treatise and Practical Christian Re of it; c tempt a on with from his

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himself (d). But he died before he could perfect that Work.

(d) Dr. Pearson, *ibid.* See Rem. (O).

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Mr.

3. What necessity, or what convenience there is of *Confession*? Which Queries Mr. Hales answers with that sense of Piety, and that Concern for the purity of the Christian Religion, which is so conspicuous in his other Treatises. This great man considering some Opinions and Practices, that have been made a part of the Christian Religion, tho' they destroy the nature and design of it; could not forbear to look upon them with contempt and indignation, and to express himself thereupon with a freedom suitable to it. This Letter is dated from his Study the 8 day of March 1637.

V. The fifth, is the *Traet concerning Schism and Schismatics: wherein is briefly discovered the Original Causes of all Schism.* Never before Printed by the Original Copy. The Editor added these last words to the title, to shew that all the former editions were spurious. And indeed, the first, printed in the year 1642 (20), as well as the subsequent ones, were so mangled and corrupted, that the sense of the Author was often perverted, or made unintelligible (21).

(20) In one large sheet in qu. Wood ubi *supr.* c. 126.

That *Traet of Schism* hath been attack'd, not only by Popish Writers, but (which some people may wonder at) by some Divines of the Church of England.

(21) See below N^o (33).

1. The same year it first came out, Dr. William Page, Rector of the Free School at Reading, publish'd against it a Book, intitled, "Certain Animadversions upon some passages in a *Traet concerning Schism and Schismatiques* &c. Oxon. 1642, qu. (22)".

(22) Wood ubi *supr.* c. 224.

2. Philip Scot, a Roman Catholick, did likewise attack it, in his *Treatise of the Schism of England*, Amsterd. 1650. in tw. (23).

(23) *ibid.* c. 126.

After the Restoration it was animadverted on by some Divines of the Church of England, who were displeas'd to find it cited by other Divines of the same Church, as a Book tending to promote Peace and Union; and were also offended to see it made use of by the Nonconformists, to justify their separation from the Church. This I shall relate more particularly in Mr. Wood's

own

Mr. William Fulman did also take a great deal of

own words and style. "And since it (The Tract of Schism) hath given, says he (24), great advantage and use to some that have not loved, nor are Lovers of, the Ch. of Engl. as (1) E. S. in his *Irenicum*, (2) Dr. Jo. Owen in his *Plea* (25) for the Nonconformists. (3) The Author of *Separation no Schism*, wrote against Dr. Jo. Sharp's *Sermon before the Lord Mayor* (26), on Rom. 14. 19. (4) Andr. Marvell in his *Rehearsal transpos'd*, part 1. &c. So that advantage being taken by it, and the Tract several times printed, some of the orthodox Clergy have answer'd it; among which have been (1) Rob. Conold M. A. in his *Nation* (b) of *Schism in two letters*. The last of which is against Hales. (2) Tho. Long B. D. in his *Character of a Separatist*, but more largely in his book intit. *Mr. Hales's Treatise of Schism examined and censur'd*, &c."

(24) *ibid.*

(25) Printed in 1674, in 8^o.

(26) The *Sermon* was preach'd in 1674; and the *Separation no Schism*, was printed in 1675 being writ by Mr. Tho. Wadsworth. See Dr. Calamy's *Life of Mr. Richard Baxter* &c. Vol. I. p. 346, and Vol. II. p. 26, (b) Printed at Lond. 1677. 8^o.

(27) There is a second edition of it, with the Addition of a third Letter, concerning Episcopacy, and the ancient Notion of Schism, printed Lond. 1677 in 8^o.

(28) The *Notion of Schism*, &c. p. 60. 2d. edit.

(29) *Ibid.* p. 67.

3. Mr. Conold's Book is intitled, *The Notion of Schism stated according to the Antients, and considered with Reference to the Non-Conformists: and the Pleas for Schismatically examined: Being Animadversions upon the Plea for the Non-Conformists. With Reflexions on that Famous Tract of Schism, written by Mr. Hales. In two Letters to a very worthy Gentleman.* By Robert Conold, M. A. (27). In the second Letter Mr. Conold examines Mr. Hales's Tract of Schism, in relation to the use made of it by the Non-conformists. Because our Non-conformists, says he (28), so oft Appeal to this Treatise, I resolv'd to consider how far it could serve their Interest, and justify their Separation. But upon examination he finds that they can take no advantage of it. Thus, concludes he. I have consider'd the Theorems of our Admir'd Author, and I find no mischief in them (29). What he adds shews, however, that he doth not approve Mr. Hales's Tract in all respects. But, says he, there are still behind such a Train of consequences, as (in my opinion) are of very evil insinuation, and do no way merit to be reckon'd among his Golden Remains. To understand these last words, the Reader must observe, that before the Tract of Schism was publish'd by the original Copy, they us'd to print it

deal of pains in writing the Life of Mr. Hales,
M 2 and

in a sheet in 4^o, and to bind it with our Author's *Golden Remains*. This made Mr. Conold believe, that it was a piece belonging to those *Remains*. He tells us afterwards what it is, that he dislikes in Mr. Hales's Tract. I cannot approve, says he (30), of his severe Censure upon the Antient Church, upon the account of the Paschal difference: and after a particular consideration of that point, he attempts to confute in general the Arguments of Mr. Hales, by which he invalidates the Authority of the Antients (31). (30) p. 68. (31) p. 73.

But to give the Reader a Specimen of Mr. Conold's style and manner of reasoning, I will set down some of his Observations on a paragraph of Mr. Hales, wherein our Author, says he, reflects upon the Paschal Schism (32). And in transcribing here that paragraph, such as Mr. Conold took it out of some spurious edition of the Tract of Schism, I shall likewise represent it, as it was originally written; by inserting, in their proper place, the words of the Original which were corrupted or wanting in the edition he made use of. (32) p. 70. 71.

We [you] (33) may plainly see the danger of our Appeal to [unto] Antiquity for Resolution in controverted Points of Faith, and how small Relief we are to expect from them [thence]; for if the Direction [discretion] of the chiefest Guides and Directors of the Church, did in a point so Trivial [so inconsiderable] so mainly fail them, [as not to see the Truth in a Subject, wherein it is the greatest Marvel how they could avoid the sight of it;] can we without the imputation of great [without imputation of extream] Grossness and Folly, think so poor-spirited Persons competent Judges of the Questions now on foot between [betwixt] the Churches? Pardon me, I know [not] what temptation drew that note from me. (33) The words between two Crosses in Roman letter are taken from the edition of the Tract of Schism, printed by the Original Copy p. 303, 204

Among other odd observations on that passage, Mr. Conold makes the following one, the beginning whereof is grounded upon the last words, wherein the particle *Not* was omitted in his spurious edition.

"What that particular Temptation was, says he (34), that occasion'd this Ecstasie, he was not pleas'd to acquaint us, and therefore I cannot determine. (34) Ibid. p. 74, 75.

and had obtained many materials towards it,
but

"but give me leave to conjecture. I find Mr. Hales
"had the ill Destiny to be a member of the Belgick
"Synod, and he informs us in his Epistles, that it was
"sometimes his Province, to refute the Arguments of
"the Remonstrants, (*Hofte absente.*) Now perhaps, ob-
"serving that those poor-spirited Antients, would
"not be press'd into the States Service, but were
"all of a different opinion from that Synod, who
"knows but this unlucky contradiction, and his con-
"versing too much with Dammannus might put him
"into an unwary heat, and make him Reprobate all
"Antiquity?"

We see here how much this Author misrepresents
Mr. Hales. But I shall only take notice of one or two
of his mistakes. 1. He finds fault with Mr. Hales for
his conversing too much with Dammannus, one of the Se-
cretaries to the Synod; but Mr. Hales says in his *Let-
ters*, that *he was not known to Dammannus* (25). And
it doth not appear he ever had any particular acquaint-
ance with him (36.) 2. Mr. Hales never was a Mem-
ber of the Belgick Synod: and it is an intolerable negli-
gence in Mr. Conold not to have known it. The
very reading of Mr. Hales's *Epistles* (had he read
them as he pretends he had) might have undeceiv'd
him.

I find the same error in a French Pamphlet lately
publish'd, which I chanc'd to light upon t'other day.
The Author says he hath read *les Lettres du fameux
Mr. Hales député d'Angleterre à ce Synode* (37); that is,
*the Letters of the famous Mr. Hales one of the English
Deputies to that Synod*: which I observe, because that
Author seems to lay a greater stress on Mr. Hales's Au-
thority upon that account. In another place he cites a
passage out of one of those *Letters*, and says, *v. le livre
Anglois intitulé, les Precieux & à jamais Memorables
Restes de Mr. Jean Hales, qui étoit Député d'Angleterre
au Synode* (38): that is, *See the English Book intitled,
the precious and ever memorable Remains of Mr. John
Hales, who was one of the English Deputies to the Synod*
where besides the error before mention'd, the Reader
may

(35) See the
Letter dated
Decemb. 2,
1618. ft. nov.

(36) See the
letter dated
January 12,
22, 1619.

(37) *Defense
des Principes
de la Tole-
rance &c. Par
Mr. de la Pil-
lonniere. A
Londres 1718
p. 51. in 8°.*

(38) *ibid. p.
80.*

but for want of application to persons for farther

may observe another but of a much less consequence. This Writer translating the Title of Mr. Hales's *Remains*, refers the word *Ever memorable*, to the *Remains*, or the Book; whereas it is an Epithet, that relates to the Author, or Mr. Hales himself.

I cannot better make amends to the Reader for these minute Observations, than by presenting him here with what Mr. Hales says in his *Letter* to Archbishop Laud, in order to justify his carriage towards Antiquity. "I am thought, says he (39), to have been too Sharp in censuring Antiquity, beyond that good respect which is due unto it. In this point, my Error, if any be, sprang from this; that taking *Actions* to be the *Fruit* by which Men are to be judged, I judged of the *Persons* by their *Actions*, and not of *Actions* by the *Persons* from whom they proceeded. For, to judge of *actions* by *Persons* and *Times*, I have always taken it to be most unnatural. Hence it is, that having no good conceit (for I will speak the Truth) of our Rule by which we celebrate the Feast of Easter I could not with Patience speak gently of Those, who used so small and contemptible an occasion, to the great disturbance and rending of the Churches; and in maintenance of a Toy and simple Ceremony which it is no way beneficial to preserve, to fall into That Error, than which themselves everywhere tell us there can scarcely Any be more dangerous".

(39) *A Letter to Archbishop Laud &c.* apud *The Difficulties and Discomagements &c.* ubi supr. p. 43, 44.

4. Mr. Thomas Long hath likewise written against Mr. Hales's *Traet concerning Schism*. The genuine edition of that *Traet* having been publish'd, when he was going to put out his *Character of a Separatist: or Sensuality the ground of Separation &c.* he added a *Post-Script* to it, with this Introduction: "(40) Since this *Treatise of Schism* was in the Press, I met with a Book of *Miscellanies* under Mr. Hales's Name, in which was a TRACT concerning *Schisme*, much applauded by the *Separatists*, as if it had unanswerably proved, both *Schisme* and *Heresie*, to be (as he calls them) but two *Theological Scarecrows*: but upon my first reading it, I apprehended it to be so

(40) *The Picture and Character of a Separatist &c.* Lond. 1679, p. 95, in 8^o.

p. 191.

"far

(e) Wood ubi
supr. c. 625.

ther information of the man, that work was left imperfect (e).

The

"far from being unanswerable, that it did sufficiently confute itself, which I doubt not will appear to all judicious Readers, upon this Analysis of the TRACT, which followeth". That Analysis is a Dialogue made up of several passages of Mr. Hales's *Tract of Schism*, which Mr. Long accommodates to his own sense and opinion.

But this short excursion appearing not sufficient to Mr. Long; he did purposely write against our Author, a Book printed in 1678, with this Title: *Mr. Hales's Tract of Schism and Schismaticks*, (printed by the Original Copy) examined and censured (41). In the Preface he seems to be very much offended at the impression of Mr. Hales's *Tracts*, and particularly at the new edition of the *Tract of Schism*. The Publisher, says he, of some posthumous Works in the name of Mr. Hales, hath opened a magazine to arm an implacable party, and with great care set forth a new Edition of the *Treatise of Schism*, giving it commission (in despite of Authority) to go thorough the Land, &c. He says afterwards that, "it is his endeavour by the following Exer- citations to take this sword out of the Enemies hands, or at least to blunt the edge of it and make it unserviceable to evil designs". When I first apprehended it, pursues he, I only let it fall on the Anvil by its own weight, and every one may perceive how it yielded to that gentle Examination: wherefore I was encouraged by a severer censure to lay it on the Anvil again, and I hope with a few strokes I have so broken it, that there is scarce an Artist among the Factions can so solder it as to make it hurtfull or formidable again. He adds, That he thinks it not enough to deprive our Adversaries of this Weapon, but that he shall likewise attempt to vindicate the fame and reputation of the Venerable Mr. Hales &c. To which purpose, he transcribes what Mr. Lloyd, or rather Mr. Farindon and Dr. Pearson have said in commendation of Mr. Hales: and takes notice of what Dr. Heylyn reports of our Author's Conversion by Archbishop Laud, and

(41) This Book was printed jointly with another intitled: *Mr. Baxter's Arguments for Conforming, against Separation*: by which the most material parts of Mr. Hales's *Tract of Schism* are confuted. There is a general Title for both, in 8^o.

The Compilers, Revisers and Continuators

and of his resolving to be Orthodox and to declare himself a true Son of the Church of England (42)

(42) See
above R.E.N.

But as it might be objected, that if it were true (G) that Mr. Hales had renounc'd the Heresies, which Mr. Long finds in his *Tract of Schism*, and by consequence was fully convinc'd of their evil tendency; he would, no doubt, have confuted that pernicious Book, and thereby prevented its being made use of by the Enemies of the Church: Mr. Long foresaw that Objection, and as he endeavours to solve it according to the best of his Knowledge and Understanding, his Answer, I presume, will not be unacceptable to the Reader.

" If it be demanded, says he, why our Author did not refute this Tract in his life-time; I answer 1. he did do it as effectually as the Philosopher confuted him that denied motion, when he arose from his seat, and walked up and down before him; for his long profession, and practice, contrary to what was there written, was *Protestatio contraria facto*. 2. The Tract carried its confutation with it, as appears in the examination. 3. It's not impossible that he foresaw how it might be serviceable to the Royal Party, whom their adversaries had begun to revile and persecute as *Arminians* and *Papists*: and in some cases, poyson well tempered and rightly applied may become medicinal. 4. He might be confident such weak arguments as he made use of, though they might please the factious multitude who knew no better, yet they could do no great hurt among Judicious men. And because we cannot guess at the Author's aim, which is secret, we ought to judge by his actions which were publick. The learned Bishop Taylor made use of a like Stratagem to break the Presbyterian power, and to countenance Divisions between the Factions, which were too much united against the Loyal Clergy: for in his Liberty of Prophesying, he insists on the same Topicks of Schism and Heresie, of the incompetency of Councils and Fathers to determine our

" Eccle-

ators of the *Great Historical Dictionary* having

“ Ecclesiastical controversies, and of scrupulous Con-
 “ sciences, and urgerh far more cogent arguments than
 “ our Author did, but still he had prepared his *Σοφὸν*
 “ *Φάρμακον*, an Antidote to prevent any dangerous
 “ effect of his discourse. Not unlike to some Moun-
 “ tebanks (Pardon the Comparison) who to amuse the
 “ vulgar, and to effect their own ends do administer
 “ to their *Merry-Andrews* a certain Dose of Poison, but
 “ immediately give them such an Antidote as causeth
 “ them to cast it up again, and hinders the mischie-
 “ vous operation of it. For the Judicious Reader may
 “ perceive such a reserve (though it lay in Ambuscado,
 “ and be compacted in a narrow compass) as may
 “ easily rout those Troops, which began too soon to
 “ cry *Victoria*, and thought of nothing else but divi-
 “ ding the Spoil (43). And if the learned Bishop did
 “ this and was blameless, the goodness of the End in
 “ such cases denominating the Action, I see no cause
 “ why our Author whose ends (as we ought in Cha-
 “ rity to believe, considering the integrity of the Per-
 “ son) were for the restoring of Peace, seeing he
 “ represented the causes of War so frivolous and in-
 “ considerable, ought to be represented as a Criminal
 “ or adversary ”.

(43) Bishop
 Taylor's *Dis-*
course of the
Liberty of Pro-
phesying, was
 publish'd in
 the year
 1647.

Thus, in order to justify Mr. Hales for writing his
Traet of Schism, Mr. Long supposes that he dress'd it
 for, and season'd it to the palate of the Puritans, that
it might be serviceable to the Royal Party; and makes
 him set up (like Bishop (44) Taylor), for a Sort of
Mountebank, who did play tricks to amuse the vulgar.
 Whereupon I shall only observe, that Mr. Long takes
 here for granted that Mr. Hales did write this *Traet*
 with a publick view: but two pages lower he asserts
 (such is the judgement and accuracy of that Author)
 that it was written at the request and for the private
 use of Mr. Chillingworth. *Unless my conjecture, says*
he, and credible information do both fail me, the occasi-
on on which it was written was this: Mr. Hales and Mr.
Chillingworth, were of intimate acquaintance, and beside
a constant correspondence by Letters they had frequent con-
verse

(44) How
 unjustly this
 imputation is
 laid on that
 pious and
 learned Pre-
 late, I hope
 to shew in
 his Article.

ving given no Article of our Author, prevented the critical Observations, which I might

verse with each other; but more especially when Mr. Chillingworth came so far in his Answer as to Vindicate our Church from Schism which was charged on her by Knott; He consulted with Mr. Hales concerning the nature of Schism; and after discourse he desired Mr. Hales to write his thoughts about it, which he did in this Tract, out of which Mr. Chillingworth urged some arguments, which I think are the worst in all his Book. And the best of all is, that he quotes afterwards a passage of Knott, the Jesuite, wherein it is said that this Tract was written for a private Friend of Mr. Hales; and that Friend is represented by Knott as a person different from Mr. Chillingworth.

Mr. Long, however, is so pleas'd with his Answer to the Objection above mention'd, that he concludes with these words: *And thus I have endeavoured to rescue the Author's Person, as well as his Papers from the Enemies Jests &c.* He shews afterwards that some of Mr. Chillingworth's positions, in his *Religion of the Protestants &c.*, are taken from Mr. Hales: and further observes, that as the Name of Mr. Hales prevailed with Mr. Chillingworth to imbrace some unsound Opinions of his, so hath it done with others of great note. Which he proves, by transcribing what Dr. Stillingfleet, Mr. Marvel, and the Author of the Pamphlet called *Separation no Schism*, have said in praise of Mr. Hales and his Tract of Schism. And from thence he infers the necessity of confuting that Tract; and wonders how a Pamphlet so obnoxious to just exceptions, should have continued so long in Vogue without a Confutation from some more Learned Hand, that the Inflection of it, might proceed no further, but its weakness be made manifest to all Men.

He begins his Confutation with the Analysis or Dialogue above mention'd: and before he enters upon a further examination of the Tract of Schism, looking upon his Enemy as already broken and routed, he is moved with pity, and will not think it is Mr. Hales, who hath been so easily and so shamefully defeated, but another Man. "I confess, says he (45), I was so tender of the
" reputation

(45) Mr.
Hales's Tract
of Schism
&c. examined
and confuted
p. 12 & 13.

might possibly have made upon their account of him.

"reputation and memory of Mr. Hales that
 "I resolved at first not to make any reflexion on such
 "passages as discovered the Author to be guilty of so
 "many Passions, infirmities and contradictions. I
 "shall not deal therefore with Mr. Hales in this post-
 "humous piece, but with that *inimicus homo*, whoever
 "he be, that hath sown tares among the good seed, and
 "wrapt up poyson in his *Golden Remains*". He had
 given another reason, in his Preface, for that distinction.
*I have only to acquaint the Reader, says he, that the rea-
 son why in the following Censure I have sometime named the
 Author as distinct from Mr. Hales, is because I believe it
 is applied by too many to such intents as the Author never
 thought of. But whatever be the true reason of that
 distinction, it is certain that he improv'd it to treat
 his Author, with such unbecoming Language, as he
 would not, I suppose, have used directly against Mr.
 Hales.*

VI. The last posthumous Piece of Mr. Hales, that hath
 been hitherto publish'd, is the Letter he writ to Arch-
 bishop Laud, upon occasion of his Tract concerning Schism.
 It was printed in the year 1716, at the end of a Pam-
 phlet, intitled, *The Difficulties and Discouragements which
 attend the study of the Scripture in the way of private Judg-
 ment &c*; as I have already mention'd (46). And it
 were to be wish'd that none of the Writings of that ex-
 cellent Man were lost, but that all Persons in whose
 hands some of them may still remain, would follow the
 example of the learned and judicious Author of the
Difficulties &c, and communicate them to the Public.

(45) See a-
 bove Rem.
 (E)

F I N I S.

I N D E X

I N D E X.

t. stands for the Text of the Article; and
n. for the marginal Notes.

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PAGE 9. l. 30. an Answer, read, or an Answer. p. 20. marg. not. (1) Remark (1): r. Remark (0). p. 30. l. 22 dele n. p. 55. l. 27. Opinion, & Opinion: *ibid*. marg. not. (35) l. 2. & 3; c. 2, r. c. 22. p. 68. l. 24. where, r. were. p. 69. l. 17. Episcopus, r. Episcopius. p. 72, l. 26, u. Quare, r. a Quare. p. 75, marg. not. (7) l. 6, n. r. in. *ibid*. marg. not. (8) l. 6. in 80. r. or 40. *ibid*. marg. not. (9) l. 8. in 40 r. in 80. The Reader is desired to excuse such literal faults as may occur; and to observe that in the Quotations, the Orthography of the Authors hath always been exactly followed.

